A CONCISE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES,

To the Death of GEORGE II.

By JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

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CHAP. I.

ELIZABETH continued.

PHILIP, of Spain, who had long meditated the deſtruction of England, now began to put his projects into execution. The perpetual object of his ſchemes, was to exterminate the reformation. The revolt of his ſubjects in the Netherlands ſtill more inflamed his reſentment againſt the Engliſh, as they had aſſiſted the revolters. He had, therefore, for ſome time been making preparations to attack England by a powerful invaſion; and now every part of his vaſt empire reſounded with the noiſe of armaments, and every art was uſed to levy ſupplies. * The marquis of

* A. D. 1588.

Santa Croce, a ſea officer of great reputation and experience, was deſtined to command the fleet, which conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-two veſſels, of a greater ſize than any that had been hitherto ſeen in Europe. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thouſand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thouſand more were aſſembled in the Netherlands, ready to be tranſported into England. The moſt renowned nobility and princes of Italy and Spain, were ambitious of ſharing in the honour of this great enterprize. Don Amadæus of Savoy, Don John of Medicis, Gonzaga, duke of Sabionetta, and others, haſtened to join this great equipment; no doubt was entertained of its ſucceſs, and it was ſtyled the Invincible Armada. It carried on board, beſide the land forces, eight thouſand four hundred mariners, two thouſand galley-ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty great pieces of braſs ordnance. It was victualled for ſix months, and was attended with twenty leſſer ſhips, called Caravals, and ten Salves, with ſix oars a-piece.

Nothing could exceed the conſternation which all ranks of people felt in England upon news of this terrible Armada being under ſail to invade them. A fleet of not above thirty ſhips of war, and thoſe very ſmall, in compariſon, was all that was to oppoſe it by ſea; and as for reſiſting by land, that was ſuppoſed to be impoſſible, as the Spaniſh army was compoſed of men well diſciplined, and long enured to danger. The queen alone

ſeemed

ſeemed undiſmayed; ſhe iſſued all her orders with tranquility; and the more to excite the martial ſpirit of the nation, appeared on horſeback in the camp at Tilbury, exhorting the ſoldiers to their duty, and promiſing to ſhare the ſame dangers with them. "I myſelf, cried ſhe, will be your general, and "the rewarder of every one of your virtues "in the field. Your alacrity has already "deſerved its rewards; and on the word "of a prince they ſhall be duly paid you. "Perſevere in your obedience to command, "ſhew your valour in the field, and we ſhall "ſoon have a glorious victory over thoſe "enemies of my God, my kingdom, and my "people."

Nor were her preparations by ſea driven on with leſs alacrity; although the Engliſh fleet was much inferior in number and ſize of ſhipping to that of the enemy, yet it was much more manageable, the dexterity and courage of the mariners being greatly ſuperior. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity took on him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, the moſt renowned ſeamen in Europe, ſerved under him; while a ſmall ſquadron conſiſting of forty veſſels, Engliſh and Flemiſh, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the duke of Parma. This was the preparation made by the Engliſh, while all the proteſtant powers of Europe regarded this enterprize as the critical event which was to decide for ever the fate of their religion.

In the mean time, while the Spaniſh Armada was preparing to ſail, the admiral Santa Croce died, as likewiſe the vice admiral Paliano; and the command of the expedition was given to the duke de Medina Sidonia. Upon leaving the port of Liſbon, the Armada next day met with a violent tempeſt, which ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt of their ſhipping, and obliged the fleet to put back into harbour. After ſome time ſpent in refitting, they again put to ſea; where they took a fiſherman, who gave them intelligence that the Engliſh fleet, hearing of the diſperſion of the Armada in a ſtorm, was retired back into Plymouth harbour. From this intelligence, the Spaniſh admiral, inſtead of going directly to the coaſt of Flanders to take in the troops ſtationed there, reſolved to ſail to Plymouth, and deſtroy the ſhipping laid up in that harbour. But Effingham, was prepared to receive them; he was juſt got out of Port when he ſaw the Spaniſh Armada coming full ſail towards him, diſpoſed in the form of an half moon, and ſtretching ſeven miles from one extremity to the other. However the Engliſh admiral, ſeconded by Drake, Hawkins, and Frobiſher, attacked the Armada at a diſtance, pouring in their broadſides with admirable dexterity. They did not chuſe to engage the enemy more cloſely, becauſe they were greatly inferior in the number of ſhips, guns, and weight of metal; nor could they pretend to board ſuch lofty ſhips without manifeſt diſadvantage. However, two Spaniſh galleons were diſabled and taken.

taken. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the Engliſh ſtill followed and infeſted their rear; and their fleet continually increaſing from different ports, they ſoon found themſelves in a capacity to attack the Spaniſh fleet more nearly, and accordingly fell upon them while they were taking ſhelter in the port of Calais. To increaſe their confuſion, Howard took eight of his ſmaller ſhips, and filling them with combuſtible materials, ſent them, as fire ſhips, one after the other into the midſt of the enemy. The Spaniards immediately took flight in great diſorder; while the Engliſh profiting by their panic, took or deſtroyed about twelve of them.

The duke de Medina Sidonia being driven to the coaſt of Zealand, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved, that as their ammunition began to fail, and their ſhips had received great damage, they ſhould return to Spain by ſailing round the Orkneys, as the winds were contrary to his paſſage directly back. Accordingly they proceeded northward, and were followed by the Engliſh fleet as far as Flamborough-head, where they were terribly ſhattered by a ſtorm. Seventeen of the ſhips, having five thouſand men on board, were afterwards caſt away upon the weſtern iſles, and the coaſt of Ireland. Of the whole Armada, three and fifty ſhips only returned to Spain, in a miſerable condition; and the ſeamen as well as ſoldiers who remained, only ſerved, by their accounts, to intimidate their countrymen from attempting

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to renew ſo dangerous an expedition. The Engliſh loſt only one ſhip, and about an hundred men.

Theſe diſaſters of the Spaniſh Armada, excited the Engliſh, to attempt invaſions in their turn. It would be endleſs to relate all the advantages obtained over the enemy at ſea, or their various deſcents upon different parts of the coaſt. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that the ſea captains of that reign are ſtill conſidered as the boldeſt and moſt enterprizing ſet of men that England ever produced; and among this number, we reckon our Raleigh, and Howard, our Drake, our Cavendiſh, and Hawkins. The Engliſh navy then began to excel; and has ſince continued irreſiſtible in all parts of the ocean.

Of thoſe who made the moſt ſignal figure in theſe depredations upon Spain, was the young earl of Eſſex, a nobleman of great bravery, generoſity, and genius; and fitted, not only for the foremoſt ranks in war by his valour, but to conduct the intrigues of a court by his eloquence and addreſs. But with all theſe endowments, both of body and mind, he was impetuous, haughty, and totally incapable of advice or controul. The earl of Leiceſter had died ſome time before, and now left room in the queen's affections for a new favourite, which ſhe was not long in chuſing, ſince the merit, the bravery, and the popularity of Eſſex, were too great not to engage her attention. Elizabeth, though ſhe rejected an huſband, yet appeared always paſſionately deſirous of a lover; and flattery had ren-

rendered her ſo inſenſible to her want of beauty, and the depredations of age, that ſhe ſtill thought herſelf as powerful by her perſonal accompliſhments as by her authority. The new favourite was young, active, ambitious, witty, and handſome; in the field, and at court, he always appeared with ſuperior luſtre. In all the maſques which were then performed, the earl and Elizabeth were generally coupled as partners; and although ſhe was almoſt ſixty, and he not half ſo old, yet her vanity overlooked the diſparity; the world told her that ſhe was young, and ſhe herſelf was willing to think ſo. This young earl's intereſt in the queen's affections, promoted his intereſt; and he conducted all things at his diſcretion. But young and unexperienced as he was, he at length began to fancy that the flatteries he received, were given to his merits and not to his favour. His jealouſy alſo of lord Burleigh, who was his only rival in power, made him ſtill more untractable; and the many ſucceſſes he had obtained againſt the Spaniards, increaſed his confidence. § In a debate before the queen, between him and Burleigh, about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was ſo heated in the argument, that he entirely forgot the rules of civility. He turned his back on the queen in a contemptuous manner, which ſo provoked her, that ſhe gave him a box on the ear. Inſtead of recollecting himſelf, and making the ſubmiſſions due to her ſex and ſtation, he clapped his hand to his ſword; and ſwore he would not bear ſuch uſage even from her father. This offence, though

§ A. D. 1598.

though very great, was ſoon forgotten: ſhe re-inſtated him in his former favour, and her kindneſs ſeemed to have acquired new force from that ſhort interruption. The death alſo of his rival, lord Burleigh, which happened ſhortly after, ſeemed to confirm his power.

But though few men were poſſeſſed of Eſſex's talents, both for war and peace, yet he had not art enough to guard againſt the intrigues of a court; his temper was too open, and gave his enemies many advantages over him. ‖ At that time the earl of Tyrone headed the rebellious natives of Ireland; who, not yet thoroughly brought into ſubjection, took every opportunity to make incurſions upon the civilized inhabitants, and ſlew all they were able to overpower. To ſubdue theſe was an employment that Eſſex thought worthy of his ambition; nor were his enemies diſpleaſed at thus removing a man from court, where he obſtructed all their private aims of preferment.

Eſſex, upon entering on his new command in Ireland, employed his friend, the earl of Southampton, who was long obnoxious to the queen, as general of his horſe; nor was it till after repeated orders from Elizabeth, that he could be prevailed on to diſplace him. This indiſcretion was followed by another; inſtead of attacking the enemy in their grand retreat in Ulſter, he led his forces into the province of Munſter, where he only exhauſted his ſtrength, and loſt his opportunity againſt a people that ſubmitted at his approach, but took up arms again when he retired. It may eaſily

‖ A. D. 1599.

eaſily be ſuppoſed, that theſe miſcarriages were urged by the enemies of Eſſex at home; but they had ſtill greater reaſon to attack his reputation, when it was known, that inſtead of humbling the rebels, he had only treated with them; and inſtead of forcing them to a ſubmiſſion, had concluded a ceſſation of hoſtilities. This iſſue of an enterprize, from which much was expected, did not fail to provoke the queen moſt ſenſibly; and her anger was ſtill more heightened by the peeviſh and impatient letters, which he daily wrote to her and the council. But her reſentment againſt him was ſtill more let looſe, when ſhe found, that leaving the place of his appointment, and without any permiſſion demanded or obtained, he had returned from Ireland to make his complaints to her in perſon.

* At firſt, indeed, Elizabeth was pleaſed at ſeeing a favourite come back, whom ſhe longed to ſee; but the momentary ſatisfaction of his unexpected appearance being over, ſhe reflected on the impropriety of his conduct with greater ſeverity; and ordered him to remain a priſoner at his own houſe. This was a reception Eſſex was not unprepared for: he uſed every expreſſion of humiliation and ſorrow, and tried once more, the long unpractiſed arts of inſinuation that had brought him into favour. The queen, however, ſtill continuing inflexible, he reſolved to give up every proſpect of ambition; but previous to his retiring into the country, he aſſured the queen, that he could never be happy till he again ſaw thoſe eyes, which were uſed to ſhine

* A. D. 1600.

ſhine upon him with ſuch luſtre; that, in expectance of that happy moment, he would, like another Nebuchadnezzar, dwell with the beaſts of the field, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till ſhe again propitiouſly took pity on his ſufferings. This romantic meſſage, was peculiarly pleaſing to the queen; ſhe, therefore replied, that after ſome time, when convinced of his ſincerity, ſomething might be expected from her lenity. When theſe ſymptoms of the queen's returning affection were known, they equally renewed the fears of his real enemies, and the aſſiduities of his pretended friends. He did not, therefore, decline an examination of his conduct before the council, ſecure in his miſtreſs's favour. And he was only ſentenced to reſign his employments, and to continue a priſoner in his own houſe, till her majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known.

He now, therefore, had triumphed over his enemies; and the diſcretion of a few months might have re-inſtated him in all his former employments; but his impetuoſity would not ſuffer him to wait for a ſlow redreſs of what he conſidered as wrongs; and the queen's refuſing his requeſt to continue him in the poſſeſſion of a lucrative monopoly of ſweet wines, which he had long enjoyed, ſpurred him on to the moſt violent meaſures. ‡ Having long built with fond credulity on his great popularity, he began to hope, from the aſſiſtance of the giddy multitude, that revenge upon his enemies in the council, which he ſuppoſed was denied him from the throne.

With

‡ A. D. 1601.

With theſe aims he began to increaſe the general propenſity in his favour, by an hoſpitality little ſuited to his circumſtances. He entertained men of all ranks and profeſſions; but particularly the military, who he hoped in his preſent views might be ſerviceable to him. But his greateſt dependence was upon the citizens of London, whoſe ſchemes of religion and government he appeared entirely to approve; and while he gratified the puritans by railing at the government of the church, he pleaſed the envious, by expoſing the faults of thoſe in power. However, the chief ſeverity of his cenſure reſted upon the queen, whom he did not heſitate to ridicule; and of whom he declared that ſhe was now become an old woman, and that her mind was grown as crooked as her body.

It may well be ſuppoſed that none of theſe indiſcretions were concealed from the queen; his enemies, and her emiſſaries, took care to bring her information of all his reſentments, and to aggravate his ſlighteſt reflections into treaſon. Elizabeth was ever remarkably jealous where her beauty was in queſtion; and though ſhe was now in her ſeventieth year, yet ſhe eagerly liſtened to all the flattery of her courtiers, when they called her a Venus, or an Angel. She, therefore, began to conſider him as unworthy of her eſteem, and permitted his enemies to drive him to thoſe extremities to which he was naturally inclined. He had collected together a ſelect council of malcontents, who flattered him in his wild projects; and ſuppoſing their adhe-

rents much more numerous than they were, they took no pains to conceal their intentions. Among other projects, the result of blind rage and despair, they resolved at last that Sir Christopher Blount, one of his creatures, should, with a choice detachment, possess himself of the palace gates; that Sir John Davis should seize the hall, Sir Charles Davers the guard-chamber, while Essex himself would rush in from the Meuse, attended by a body of his partizans, into the queen's presence, intreat her to remove his and her enemies, to assemble a new parliament, and to correct the defects of the present administration.

The queen and council, alarmed at the great resort of people to Essex, and having some intimations of his design, sent secretary Herbert to require his appearance before the council, which was assembled at the lord keeper's. While Essex was deliberating in what manner he should proceed, he received a private note, by which he was warned to provide for his safety. He consulted his friends touching the emergency of their situation; they were destitute of arms and ammunition, while the guards at the palace were doubled, so that any attack upon that would be fruitless. While he and his confidants were in consultation, a person, probably employed by his enemies, came in as a messenger from the citizens, with tenders of assistance against all his adversaries. Wild as the project was of raising the city, in the present conjuncture it was resolved on; but the execution of it was delayed till the day following.

Early

Early in the morning of the next day, he was attended by his friends, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandes, Parker, and Mounteagle, with three hundred perſons of diſtinction. The doors of Eſſex-houſe were immediately locked, to prevent all ſtrangers from entering; and the earl now diſcovered his ſcheme for raiſing the city more fully to the conſpirators. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh ſending a meſſage to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, this officer had a conference with him in a boat on the Thames, and there diſcovered all their proceedings. The queen being informed of the whole, ſent in the utmoſt haſte Egerton, the lord keeper, Sir William Knollys, the controller, Popham, the lord chief juſtice, and the earl of Worceſter, to Eſſex houſe, to demand the cauſe of theſe unuſual proceedings. It was ſome time before they received admittance; and it was not without ſome degree of fury, that they ordered Eſſex and his adherents to lay down their arms. While they continued undaunted in the diſcharge of their duty, and the multitude around them clamoured loudly for their puniſhment, the earl of Eſſex, who now ſaw that all was to be hazarded, reſolved to leave them priſoners in his houſe, and to ſally forth to make an inſurrection in the city. But he had made a wrong eſtimate in expecting that popularity alone could aid him in time of danger; he iſſued out with about two hundred followers, armed only with ſwords; and in his paſſage to the city was joined by the earl of Bedford, and lord Cromwell. As he paſſed

through the ſtreets, he cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" hoping to engage the populace to riſe; but they had received orders from the mayor to keep within their houſes; ſo that he was not joined by a ſingle perſon. He then proceeded to the houſe of Smith, the ſheriff, on whoſe aid he greatly depended; but the crowd gathered round him rather to ſatisfy their curioſity, than to lend him any aſſiſtance. Eſſex now perceived that he was undone; and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland, and lord Burleigh, he began to think of retreating to his own houſe, there to ſell his life as dearly as he could. But he was prevented in his aims even there; the ſtreets in his way were baricadoed, and guarded by the citizens, under the command of Sir John Leviſon. In fighting his way through this obſtruction, Henry Tracy, a young gentleman, for whom he had a ſingular affection, was killed, and Sir Chriſtopher Blount wounded and taken. The earl, himſelf, attended by a few of his followers, the reſt having privately retired, made towards the river; and, taking a boat, arrived once more at Eſſex-houſe, where he began to make preparations for his defence. But his caſe was too deſperate for any remedy from valour; wherefore, after demanding in vain for hoſtages, and conditions from his beſiegers, he ſurrendered at diſcretion, requeſting only civil treatment, and a fair hearing.

Eſſex and Southampton were immediately carried to the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, from

from whence they were next day conveyed to the Tower, and tried by their peers on the nineteenth of February following. Little could be urged in their defence; their guilt was too flagrant. Eſſex after condemnation was viſited by that religious horror which ſeemed to attend him in all his diſgraces. He was terrified almoſt to deſpair by the remonſtrances of his own chaplain; he was reconciled to his enemies, and made a full confeſſion of his conſpiracy. He had ſtrong hopes of pardon, from the irreſolution which the queen diſcovered before ſhe ſigned the warrant for his execution. She had given him formerly a ring, which ſhe deſired him to ſend her in any emergency of this nature. This ring was actually ſent her by the counteſs of Nottingham, who being a concealed enemy to the unfortunate earl, never delivered it; while Elizabeth ſecretly fired at his obſtinacy in making no applications for mercy. The fact is, ſhe appeared herſelf as much an object of pity, as the unfortunate nobleman ſhe condemned. She ſigned the warrant for his execution; ſhe countermanded it; ſhe again reſolved on his death, and again felt a new return of tenderneſs. At laſt ſhe gave her conſent to his execution, and was never ſeen to enjoy an happy day more.

After the beheading of Eſſex, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, ſome of his aſſociates were brought to their trials. Cuffe, his ſecretary, a turbulent man, but poſſeſſed of great learning, Davers, Blount, Meric, and Davis, were condemned and executed; the queen

pardoned the reſt; being perſuaded that they were culpable only from their friendſhip to their benefactor.

In the latter end of the year 1600, one of the moſt extraordinary conſpiracies that hiſtory mentions, broke out in Scotland. I ſhall relate the particulars as drawn up by James himſelf, and publiſhed by his authority; and afterwards, make ſome remarks upon the improbabilities, contradictions, and inconſiſtencies that attend the whole ſtory.

On the fifth of Auguſt, as James was taking horſe in the morning, to hunt in the neighbourhood of Falkland, he was accoſted in a manner more reſpectful than uſual by Alexander Ruthven, brother to the earl of Gowry, and ſon to that earl who had been beheaded in this reign. It may be here proper to inform the reader, that the two brothers had received their education abroad; that they were looked upon as being more learned than noblemen generally are; and that they had not only been reſtored by James to their family honours and eſtate, but diſtinguiſhed by him with particular marks of his bounty. Having finiſhed the courſe of their education and travels, they returned through England to Scotland, where they reſided at their family-ſeat near Perth; but it is pretty certain that Elizabeth had found means to fix the earl in her intereſt, and that ſhe intended to make him her principal agent in Scotland. Be that as it will, this Alexander, who, it ſeems, was very handſome, and whom James ſuſpected to have an intrigue with his wife, informed

informed his majeſty that, the evening before, he had ſeized a ſuſpicious fellow, muffled up in a cloak which concealed a large pot full of gold coin: that he had ſecured the fellow and his pot in a ſequeſtered houſe, till he ſhould know his majeſty's pleaſure; for which purpoſe he had come to Falkland. Ruthven added, that none, not even the earl his brother, knew of this adventure; but preſſed James to give ſome orders about the gold and the priſoner. James, at firſt declined having any thing to do with either, but, upon farther examination, he began to ſuſpect that the fellow might be an agent from the pope or the king of Spain, and might be intruſted with the gold to make diſturbances in his kingdom. He offered to ſend back one of his ſervants with Ruthven, and a warrant directed to the magiſtrates of Perth, to receive the fellow and the money into their cuſtody, and to detain both till his pleaſure ſhould be farther known. Ruthven ſtrongly oppoſed this expedient. He obſerved, that if either the magiſtrates or his brother ſhould hear of the priſoner and the money, James would get but a poor account of the latter; in which caſe he (Ruthven) muſt loſe the reward of his zeal and loyalty; and therefore he intreated James to examine the fellow in perſon, entirely referring his own recompence to his majeſty's generoſity. The ſport of the field being at a ſtand during this long conference, James joined his attendants; but told Ruthven that he would conſider further of the matter. Ruthven endeavoured ſtill to prevail

vail upon James to examine the priſoner, who, he ſaid, in caſe of delay, might make a noiſe, which would defeat the whole diſcovery. Though it does not appear by the narrative drawn up by James himſelf, that he agreed to this propoſal, yet Ruthven diſpatched Henderſon one of the two ſervants who attended him, to ride poſt-haſte back to acquaint the earl of Gowry, that in about three hours James would be at his houſe, and deſiring him to prepare dinner. James, during the chaſe was ſtartled with what he heard from Ruthven; and riding again up to him, told him that when the ſport was over, he would attend him. Upon the death of the ſtag, James called for a freſh horſe, and mounting, unarmed and defenceleſs as he was, left word with the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, and his other attendants, that he was gone to Perth upon buſineſs with the earl of Gowry, but would be back at night. Moſt of the company got freſh horſes, and imagining that James was gone to apprehend the maſter of Oliphant, who was then ſkulking as an outlaw about the country, they galloped after him, apprehending danger to his perſon.

Ruthven endeavoured to prevail on James to countermand their attendance upon his perſon, and to be ſatisfied with that of three or four ſervants. James ſays, that this diſcourſe began to give him ſuſpicions of Ruthven's intentions; but thinking that his brother's ſevere uſage of him might have diſturbed his brain; a conjecture which was confirmed

firmed by the uncommon wildneſs of his looks, his penſive air, and incoherent diſcourſe; he was contented with ordering the noblemen his followers, to attend him; and, after informing the duke of Lenox of Ruthven's diſcovery, and his own ſuſpicions of his ininſanity, he ordered him not to leave him, eſpecially when he entered the houſe where the fellow and the treaſure are confined, Their diſcourſe was interrupted by Ruthven; who again peremptorily inſiſted, that none of the royal attendants ſhould be preſent at the fellow's examination: but James told him with a ſmile, "That being himſelf but a poor accomptant, it was neceſſary he ſhould have ſome aſſiſtance in telling over the money." Ruthven inſiſting with his uſual earneſtneſs, that none ſhould be preſent, James grew at laſt apprehenſive of ſome treaſonable deſign; but, by his own account, he was aſhamed to own his ſuſpicions, and rode forward. When they came within two miles of Perth, Ruthven diſpatched another ſervant to advertiſe his brother of the king's approach, and after riding a mile farther he left James for the ſame purpoſe.

Gowry was at dinner when he underſtood from his brother that the king was at hand; and was ſo far from having made any preparation for his majeſty's reception, that having received him at the head of three or four ſcore of his attendants, (thoſe of James not exceeding fifteen, and armed only with ſwords) it was a full hour before his dinner could be got ready. During this interval,

James

James preſſed Ruthven to introduce him to the priſoner; but he pretended that there was no hurry till his majeſty's dinner was over. James deſcribes the earl of Gowry as being extremely reſtleſs, unquiet and uneaſy, while his majeſty was dining. When James was ready to riſe from the table, Ruthven whiſpered him that it was now time to viſit the priſoner; but he wiſhed that his majeſty would get rid of the earl his brother by deſiring him to entertain the other gueſts.

I ſhall here juſt obſerve, that Ruthven and his two ſervants had rode from Perth to Falkland that day; and the horſe of the former was ſo tired, that it could ſcarcely keep up with the king, whom he was inceſſantly preſſing to ride faſter: yet (to ſpeak nothing of the firſt ſervant) this ſecond ſervant's horſe outrides them all, and reaches his maſter's houſe before the king himſelf.

That the earl ſhould be uneaſy is not ſurprizing, when we conſider how ill prepared he was for the royal viſitant; for it appears, from the king's own relation, that neither of his brother's ſervants had delivered the meſſage: beſides; if Ruthven was (as there is too much reaſon to believe he was) inſane, the earl's concern muſt be increaſed at ſuch an adventure.

When James left the room, he deſired to be attended by Sir Thomas Erſkine; but Ruthven deſired him to go forward with him, and perſiſted that his majeſty would command publickly that none ſhould follow him. It does not appear that the king gave any ſuch order; but that, paſſing through the end of the

the hall where his attendants were at dinner, he mounted a winding ſtair (called in Scotland a Turnpike) and after paſſing through ſeveral rooms, the doors of which were all carefully locked by Ruthven, at laſt he entered a ſmall cloſet, where he ſaw a man with a dejected countenance, ſtanding with a dagger at his girdle. Ruthven locking the door, and clapping his hat on his head, drew the dagger from the man's girdle, and pointing it to the king's breaſt, ſwore bitterly that it ſhould go to his heart if he offered to cry out, or to open a window; affirming, that he was ſure, the king's conſcience was burthened for murdering his father.

James does not inform us, why Ruthven did not immediately plunge the dagger into his boſom; (which he naturally would have done, had he been determined to murder him) but diſplays his own eloquence, in recounting the arguments he made uſe of to divert Ruthven from his barbarous purpoſe, while the third perſon ſtood by trembling and quaking, rather like one condemned, than an executioner of ſuch an enterprize.

If we believe James, his rhetoric made ſuch an impreſſion upon Ruthven, that it ſaved his life. "At his majeſty's perſuaſive language (ſays James in his narrative) he appeared to be ſomewhat amazed, and, uncovering his head again, ſwore and proteſted that his majeſty's life ſhould be ſafe, if he would behave himſelf quietly, without making a noiſe or crying; and that he would only bring in the earl his brother to ſpeak with

with his majeſty. Whereupon his majeſty enquiring what the earl would do with him, ſince (if his majeſty's life were ſafe, according to promiſe) they could gain little in keeping ſuch a priſoner; his anſwer only was, that he could tell his majeſty no more; but that his life ſhould be ſafe, in caſe he behaved himſelf quietly; the reſt the earl his brother, whom he was going for would tell his majeſty at his coming. With that, as he was going for the earl his brother, as he affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, ſaying theſe words unto him, "I make you here the king's keeper, till I come back again, and ſee that you keep him upon your peril:" and there withal ſaid to his majeſty, "you muſt content yourſelf to have this man now your keeper, until my coming back."

After this ſudden tranſition from murder to mildneſs, Ruthven left the room, but took the key with him. His majeſty aſked the fellow who was left with him, "whether he was appointed to be his murderer?" which he denied with marks of fear and horror; and ſaid that he had been locked in there a very little while before his majeſty's arrival. The king then ordered him to open the window, which he readily did. Meantime, while Gowry was entertaining the king's ſervants, one of them told him, that the king had taken horſe, upon which the company ruſhed out to follow him. They underſtood from the Porter, that the king was not gone; but Gowry running back to the houſe, immediately returned, and told them that the king

king ſet out by a back gate. As they were haſting to take horſe, young Ruthven returned and told James that he muſt die, offering to bind his majeſty's hands, at the ſame time, with a garter. James and he inſtantly collared each other; and before Ruthven could draw his ſword, James drew him by force to the window, from whence he called out that they were murdering him. At the very inſtant his ſervants were running paſt to take their horſes. The king's voice was inſtantly known by the earl of Mar and the duke of Lenox. They attempted to run up the turnpike by which the king entered; but the earl of Gowry mounted by another ſtair-caſe, which was left open. By this time James had the better in the ſtruggle between him and Ruthven, and he had drawn the latter to the door of the ſtudy, his head being under his majeſty's arms, and himſelf on his knees.

Such was the ſituation of the combatants, when Sir John Ramſay luckily found his way to the acceſſible turnpike, and mounting it, wounded Ruthven two or three times with his dagger; upon which James threw his antagoniſt down from the top of the ſtairs to the bottom, where his life was finiſhed by Sir Thomas Erſkine and Sir Hugh Herries. His laſt words were, "I am not to blame for this." Before Erſkine performed his feat, he had collared the earl of Gowry, who was delivered by his ſervants. Erſkine and Herries having diſpatched Ruthven, ran up the turnpike, and were followed by the earl of Gowry, who had on his head a ſteel helmet, and a

ſword in each hand, and ſeven of his ſervants, each with a ſword, all the force of James (whom his ſubjects had ſhut into the cloſet) amounting only to the three knights above-mentioned, and one Wilſon. A conflict enſued in the adjoining room, in which the king's attendants were wounded, but Sir John Ramſay ran his ſword through Gowry's heart, and he expiring without ſpeaking a word, his ſervants were driven down ſtairs.

The duke of Lenox and the earl of Mar had now forced their way into the turnpike by which James had mounted, and found him upon his knees thanking God for his deliverance. The townſmen of Perth had, by this time, taken the alarm; and upon hearing that their provoſt, the earl of Gowry was killed, ſurrounded the houſe. James ordered them to be admitted, ſhewed them the dead bodies of the earl and his brother, and informed them both of his danger and deliverance. This is the ſubſtance, of the famous diſcourſe publiſhed by James concerning this celebrated conſpiracy. The reader may eaſily perceive, by its internal evidences, that it is full of abſurdities and inconſiſtencies; and they are ſo palpable, as to ſuperſede all animadverſions on that head. Strong external evidences likewiſe concur to deſtroy the credit of the king's narrative. Archbiſhop Spotſwood ſays, that during Gowry's combat with the king's attendants, which was, it ſeems, in a chamber, into which the cloſet opened, one of the company cried out, "You have killed the king our maſter, and will

will you alſo take our lives?" Gowry hearing this, gave over the combat; and dropping the two points of his ſwords was run through the heart.

There is alſo a material difference between Spotſwood's narrative and that of the king; for the former ſays, that the earl himſelf intercepted the fellow with the gold, and ſent his brother to the king with the information. Upon the whole, it is highly probable, that if there was a conſpiracy, the queen knew of it, but moſt probably there was none; and the tragedies which followed proceeded from the diſtempered brain of young Ruthven; for there is no ground for charging the brother, who took no advantage of the vaſt ſuperiority of force he had in his houſe, and who the moment that he heard the king was dead, dropt his arms, and ſuffered himſelf to be run through the body by his enemies.

The remaining events of this reign are inconſiderable. With the death of her favourite Eſſex, all Elizabeth's pleaſures ſeemed to expire: ſhe afterwards went through the buſineſs of the ſtate merely from habit, but her ſatisfactions were no more. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her proſperous reign were unable to remove. She had now found out the falſhood of the counteſs of Nottingham; who on her death-bed ſent for the queen, and informed her of the fatal circumſtance of the ring, which ſhe had neglected to deliver. This

information awakened all that paſſion which the queen had vainly endeavoured to ſuppreſs. She ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, crying out. "That God might pardon her, but ſhe never would." She then broke from her, and reſigned herſelf to the dictates of her fixed deſpair. She refuſed food and ſuſtenance; ſhe continued ſilent, and gloomy; ſighs, and groans were the only vent ſhe gave to her deſpondence; and ſhe lay for ten days and nights upon the carpet, leaning on cuſhions which her maids brought her. Perhaps ſhe reflected with remorſe on ſome paſt actions of her life. She perceived the decays of nature, and the approach of her diſſolution. She ſaw her courtiers remitting their aſſiduity to her, in order to pay their court to her ſucceſſor. Such a concurrence of cauſes was more than ſufficient to deſtroy the remains of her conſtitution; and her end now viſibly approached. Feeling a perpetual heat in her ſtomach, attended with an unquenchable thirſt, ſhe drank without ceaſing, but refuſed the aſſiſtance of her phyſicians. Her diſtemper gaining ground, Cecil, and the lord admiral, deſired to know her ſentiments with regard to the ſucceſſion. To this ſhe replied, that as the crown of England had always been held by kings, it ought not to devolve upon any but her immediate heir, the king of Scotland. Her voice ſoon after left her; ſhe fell into a lethargic ſlumber, which continued ſome hours, and ſhe expired without a groan, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign. Her character differed

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with her circumſtances; in the beginning, ſhe was moderate and humble; towards the end of her reign, quite the reverſe. But ever prudent, active, and diſcerning, ſhe procured for her ſubjects that happineſs, which was not felt by thoſe about her. She was indebted to a good providence, that her miniſters were excellent; but it was owing to her indiſcretion that the favourites, who were more immediately choſen by herſelf were unworthy. Though ſhe was poſſeſſed of good ſenſe, yet ſhe never had the diſcernment to diſcover that ſhe wanted beauty; and to flatter her charms at the age of ſixty-five, was the ſureſt road to her favour. In her perſon, ſhe was maſculine, ſtrait, and ſtrong-limbed; fair, and yellow-haired. Her voice was ſtrong and ſhrill. She had an excellent memory, and was well read in hiſtory. Her application was indefatigable, and her courage invincible. Yet we cannot deny, that ſhe was vain, proud, and in ſome caſes cruel. Her predominant paſſions were jealouſy, avarice, and impetuous anger; which frequently hurried her beyond all the bounds of common decency. Indeed ſhe ſeems to have had no conception of this, any more than of the fear of GOD: for ſhe ſwore by her Maker in almoſt every ſentence of her ordinary converſation.

But whatever were her defects, ſhe is to be ever remembered by the Engliſh with gratitude. It is true ſhe carried her prerogative in parliament to its higheſt pitch; ſo that it was tacitly allowed in that aſſembly, that ſhe was above all laws, and could make and un-

make them at her pleaſure; yet ſtill ſhe was ſo wiſe as ſeldom to exert that power which ſhe claimed, and to inforce few acts of her prerogative, which were not for the benefit of the people. It is true in like manner, that the Engliſh during her reign were put in poſſeſſion of no new or ſplendid acquiſitions; but commerce was daily growing up among them, and the people began to find that the theatre of their trueſt conqueſts was on the boſom of the ocean. A nation which hitherto had been the object of every invaſion, and a prey to every plunderer, now aſſerted its ſtrength in turn, and became terrible to its invaders. The ſucceſsful voyages of the Spaniards and Portugueſe, began to excite their emulation; and they fitted out ſeveral expeditions for diſcovering a ſhorter paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, without any aſſiſtance from government, colonized New England, while internal commerce was making equal improvements; and many Flemings, perſecuted in their native country, found, together with their arts and induſtry, an eaſy aſylum in England. Thus the whole iſland ſeemed as if rouzed from her long habits of barbarity; arts, commerce, and legiſlation began to acquire new ſtrength every day; and ſuch was the ſtate of learning at that time, that ſome fix that period as the Auguſtan age of England. Sir Walter Raleigh, and Hooker, are conſidered as among the firſt improvers of our language. Spenſer and Shakeſpear are too well known, as poets, to be praiſed here; but

but of all mankind, Francis Bacon, lord Verulam, who flouriſhed in this reign, deſerves, as a philoſopher, the higheſt applauſe; his ſtyle is copious and correct, and his wit is only ſurpaſſed by his learning and penetration.

CHAP. II.

A late ingenious hiſtorian ſpeaks ſo ambiguouſly on that great queſtion, in which queen Elizabeth's character is ſo nearly concerned, "Was queen Mary guilty of murdering her huſband or not?" that from all he ſays, no concluſion can be drawn, either one way or the other. He appears to be ſenſible of this himſelf, and therefore refers us for farther ſatisfaction, to the diſſertation upon this very head, which follows at the end of the volume. But this leaves us as unſatisfied as ever. Fully to clear this intricate paſſage, I have ſubjoined an extract from a late tract on the ſubject, which I do not find any one has attempted to anſwer.

The only apology made, by Murray's ſecret council, for riſing in rebellion againſt their ſovereign, for impriſoning her in Lochlevin, and for all future acts of violence intended againſt her, "was (to uſe their own words) in the ſaid queen's awin default, in

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as far as be divers hir previe letteris, written and ſubſcrivit with hir awin hand, and ſent be hir to James erle of Bothwell---It is moſt certane that ſhe was previe, art and part, and of the actual deviſe and deid of the murther of the king." That is, they roſe in rebellion againſt the queen in the month of May; they made her priſoner at Carberry-hill on the 15th of June, and confined her next day in Lochlevin; whereas the letters were not diſcovered until the 20th of June, and on the 4th of December the ſame year. Murray's only pretence to juſtify the rebellion in May, was the letters found on the 20th of June following; ſo that here the pretended inducement was poſterior to the crime, which leaves the ſtrongeſt preſumption that theſe letters were fabricated to ſerve their purpoſe.

And as to thoſe letters themſelves, ſuppoſe a man were to ſwear a debt againſt me, and offered to prove it by bond or bill of my own hand writing; if I knew that to be a falſe writing, what would be my defence? Show me the bond itſelf, and I will prove it a forgery. If he withdrew the bond, and refuſed to let me ſee it, what would be the preſumption? Surely, that the bond was forged, and that the refuſer was himſelf the forger.

The caſe is preciſely ſimilar to the point in hand. The queen repeatedly demands to ſee the writings themſelves, which ſhe aſſerts are forged. Elizabeth herſelf ſays, the demand is moſt reaſonable; and promiſes an extract of them. But was this an honeſt return to

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ſo reaſonable a requeſt. Suppoſe this extract had contained an exact copy of the letters, is it from a copy that a forgery can be proved, without ſeeing the original? and yet nothing is more certain, than that even a copy of the letters was denied to Mary. One may eaſily imagine, that if queen Elizabeth had an intention that a fair trial and inſpection of the letters ſhould be made, there could be no reaſon for heſitating one minute on Mary's repeated ſupplication for a ſight of them, or, at the leaſt, for copies of them, without which, it was ſimply impoſſible for her, or any perſon alive, to detect the forgery.

But this was the very oppoſite of Elizabeth's intention; to give way to a ſcrutiny of ſuch precious materials, which would have blown them up in the air; and conſequently would have been a convincing proof of Mary's innocence.

Let us, now try, if it is poſſible, even at this day, to point out the real authors of the murder, to trace the footſteps of thoſe dark, daring, and ſubtle geniuſes, in the bloody ſcene of Darnley's death, through the thick cloud in which they have ſo artfully enveloped themſelves.

The queen's accuſation againſt her baſtard brother the earl of Murray, and his confederates, was, in general, "that they themſelves were the inventors, conſpirators, and ſome of them the executioners of the murder of the king."

Before we enter into the defence made to this accuſation, the following two points, will be readily granted.

Firſt,

Firſt, That if the queen had made good this accuſation, and proved, that the accuſers themſelves, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, had been in the conſpiracy and execution of the king's murder; in that caſe, ſhe herſelf could not have been in that confederacy, or guilty of the murder.

Secondly, That as this triumvirate, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, had been from the beginning, equally embarked in the ſame cauſe, as they had with one voice publickly accuſed their ſovereign of the above crimes, and pretended to bring proof of their accuſation; and as they had, by that means, deprived her of her crown, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the government of her kingdom; if, I ſay, the queen could have proved that theſe joint accuſers, had themſelves been the authors or contrivers of the king's death, in that caſe the whole triumvirate as ſocii criminis, muſt one and all be deemed acceſſaries to the murder.

Theſe two points being allowed, let us now hear what defence Murray and his aſſociates have made for themſelves, and what has been ſaid for them by the writers upon their ſide, in anſwer to the queen's accuſation.

The anſwer made by Murray and his aſſociates to the accuſation, was, "they deny they were culpable thereof."

Mr. Hume, defends them thus: "we take this accuſation of Mary's, to be an argument of Murray's guilt, there remains not the leaſt preſumption which ſhould lead

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us to ſuſpect him to have been an accomplice in the crime.---Murray could have had no motive to commit that crime.---The king's murder, indeed, procured him the regency."

Dr. Robertſon argues thus, "Murray, on the queen's return to Scotland, ſerved her with great fidelity, and by his prudent adminiſtration rendered her ſo popular, and ſo powerful, as enabled her with eaſe to cruſh a formidable inſurrection raiſed by himſelf in the year 1565. What motive could induce Murray to murther a prince, without capacity, without followers, without influence? It is no eaſy matter to gueſs what he could gain by his death."

---"If Murray had inſtigated Bothwell to commit the crime, or had himſelf been acceſſary to it, what hopes was there that Bothwell would ſilently bear, from a fellow criminal, all the perſecutions which he ſuffered, without retorting upon him the accuſation, or revealing the whole ſcene of iniquity? Or is it probable that Murray would firſt raiſe Bothwell to ſupreme power, in hopes that afterwards he might cruſh him?"

Such is the defence made on Murray's ſide to the queen's accuſation of him and his aſſociates.

Dr. Robertſon aſks, what motive could induce Murray to murder Darnley? his friend Mr. Hume ſhall anſwer him, it was to procure himſelf the regency. But after all, this ſort of reaſoning by inference, can have no place here. It is by direct evidence, we are to prove the queen's accuſation againſt Murray

ray and his confederates, Morton and Lethington; and in the ſame way only, muſt the advocates for them be allowed to make their defence.

But previous to our entering upon this, it is of conſequence to take notice of the ſophiſtry, that has been uſed by the advocates on the oppoſite ſide to impoſe upon the public, by a vindication of the earl of Murray only. He is ſubſtituted for the whole party, as if the queen's accuſation had been confined to him. He (though the director of the whole) took great care to ſcreen himſelf from public view, while Morton and Lethington, his two inſtruments, acted more boldly, and with leſs caution. By this piece of ſlight, the contriver and mover of the whole machine kept himſelf hid, as he imagined, behind the curtain, ſecure in his artifices, and now boldly ſteps forth, while his under actors make their retreat. By this piece of ſophiſtry, the partizans of the queen have been impoſed upon; in purſuing Murray they let his inſtruments Morton and Lethington eſcape.

We propoſe therefore to follow another courſe; to inquire into the particular conduct of each of the triumvirate; and at the ſame time endeavour to diſcover the chain which united this confederacy againſt the queen, during her whole reign. So that by judging of each ſeparately, or connecting the whole together, the reader in one view, may determine for himſelf: and on this plan, we propoſe to give a fair detail of facts, with the au-

authorities from which we take them, ſo that the public may the better judge of their weight.

I now proceed to my ſubject; and in order to judge what part Murray, Morton, and Lethington had in the great event of Darnley's death, it is neceſſary to trace their conduct for ſome time preceding that period.

On the death of the queen regent, mother to Mary then in France, the earl of Murray, the prior of St. Andrews, was at the head of the reformed party in Scotland; at which time it was reported, that he had the crown in view for himſelf. Our authority for this is, in the firſt place, a letter from Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, to ſecretary Cecil, dated the 26th of July, 1559. "I am (ſays he) ſecretly informed that there is a party in Scotland for placing the prior of St. Andrews in the State of Scotland, and that the prior himſelf, by all the ſecret means he can, aſpires thereto."

Queen Elizabeth in her inſtructions to the earl of Shrewſbury, owns her knowledge of this ſcheme: "before the treaty of Edinburgh, (ſays that queen) there was an intent diſcovered unto us by Lethington, to deprive her (queen Mary) of her crown, which we utterly rejected." Let us now ſee what evidence there is of any ſteps taken by Murray in the proſecution of theſe views. Queen Mary having determined to leave France, and come over to her own kingdom, made application to queen Elizabeth for a ſafe conduct, and leave to paſs through England in

her way to Scotland. Both theſe ſuits were refuſed. And on Mary's taking her way by ſea, ſome ſhips of war were ſuddenly ſent out by Elizabeth, in order to intercept her in her paſſage. The learned Camden, from the letters of the earl of Murray's party in Scotland, to queen Elizabeth and her miniſters, with whom a ſecret correſpondence was even at that time kept, informs us of the part Murray acted on that occaſion: "James, the baſtard, (ſays that learned writer) having returned from France thro' England, gave advices underhand to intercept her, both for Elizabeth's ſecurity and the intereſt of religion.----Lethington (adds he) adviſed the ſame thing, leſt, if ſhe ſhould return, ſhe would cut off their intercourſe with the Engliſh, and depreſs the faction that favoured them." Camden mentions the letters of the party in Scotland which he had ſeen. And what confirms his veracity beyond diſpute is, that Lethington's letter to this very purpoſe is ſtill preſerved in the Cotton Library. This letter ſhows plainly the confederacy between Cecil and Murray and his party, that was then forming to diſturb the government: "I have been (ſays Lethington) theſe forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my lord James, (Murray) where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but advancing the religion and the common cauſe. ---I do allow your opinion of the queen our ſovereign's journey to Scotland, whoſe coming hither ſhall not fail to raiſe wonderful tragedies.---She will not be ſerved with thoſe that

that bear any good will to England. Some quarrel ſhall be picked with them, not directly for religion at the firſt; but when the accuſation of hereſy would be odious, men muſt be charged with treaſon.---A few thus diſgraced, diſpatched, or diſperſed, the reſt will be an eaſy prey."

That queen Elizabeth actually intended to have intercepted queen Mary in her voyage from France to Scotland, is likewiſe proved by her miniſter the lord keeper Bacon's direct acknowledgment, in a ſpeech made in the privy council of England, anno 1562, on the occaſion of a propoſal then ſtarted for an interview between Elizabeth and Mary: "Think you (ſays lord Bacon) that the Scottiſh queen's ſuit, made in a friendly manner, to come thro' England at the time ſhe left France, and the denial thereof, is by them forgotten? Or elſe your ſending your ſhips to ſea at the time of her paſſage?"

Such is the evidence of the earl of Murray's views at this time, and thoſe of his party in Scotland, for having queen Mary intercepted in her way to Scotland, and detained a priſoner in England, that they might themſelves ſeize the government of the kingdom.

The following evidence ſhews, that, at this time, the fatal aſſociation of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, in confederacy with queen Elizabeth and her miniſter Cecil was formed; which conſtantly after this ſubſiſted, and was the ſource whence ſprung all that ſeries of diſturbances, inſurrections and

rebellions againſt Mary and her government; and from which all the diſaſters of her reign were derived, which at laſt ended in her death.

Before the queen's arrival from France, which was on the 22d of Auguſt, 1561, queen Elizabeth had taken care to have a miniſter at Edinburgh; this was the noted Mr. Randolph, who, upon pretence of bearing Elizabeth's compliments of congratulation, continued about queen Mary's court as a ſpy, giving the moſt minute intelligence to his miſtreſs, and encouraging every cabal formed to diſturb Mary's government. Of all this Randolph's own Letters, ſtill extant, are a full demonſtration.

It appears, that he had very ſoon cultivated a good underſtanding with the moſt fit perſons for his purpoſe, ſuch as the famous John Knox, Murray, Morton and Lethington.

In his letter to Cecil, of the 9th of Auguſt, 1561, a fortnight before Mary's arrival in Scotland, he thus writes: "I have ſhewn your honours unto lord James, (i. e. Murray) lord Morton, and Lethington, they wiſh, as your honour doth, that ſhe (Mary) might be ſtayed yet for a ſpace, and if it were not for their obedience' ſake, ſome of them care not tho' they never ſaw her face.---They have need to look unto themſelves; for their hazard is great; and they ſee there is no ſafety for them, but to repoſe upon the queen's (Elizabeth's) majeſty's favour and ſupport. They are in mind ſhortly to try what they may be aſſured at, of the queen's majeſty, and what they

they may aſſuredly perform, of that they intend to offer for their parts.---They intend to expoſtulate with me hereupon. I have my anſwer ready enough to them."---

"By ſuch talk, as I have of late had with the lord James and Lethington, I perceive that they are of mind, that immediately of the next convention, I ſhall repair to you with their determination and reſolution in all purpoſes wherein your honour's advice is earneſtly and ſhortly looked for.---The lord of Lethington leaveth nothing at this time unwritten, that he thinketh may be able to ſatisfy your deſire in knowledge of the preſent ſtate of things here."

We ſee from this letter, that the pretence of thoſe perſons for aſſociating themſelves, and carrying on this treacherous correſpondence with England, was their fears from Mary on her arrival in her own dominions. How falſe theſe pretences were, may be judged from the conduct of this deluded princeſs, who immediately on her arrival, threw herſelf into the arms of theſe very men, Murray, Morton, and Lethington. But, notwithſtanding they had the ſole power in their hands, they ſtill continued to carry on their traiterous practices with England.

In the abſtract of Randolph's letters to Cecil, now in the Cotton Library, we find in one of them, of the 19th of June, 1563, theſe words: "if any ſuſpected letters be taken on the border, open them not, but ſend them to my lord of Murray, of whoſe ſervice the queen of England is ſure."

We now proceed to unfold ſome more overt acts of Murray, in proſecution of his view of diſturbing the government and ſeizing the reins into his own hands.

The queen's purpoſe to marry the lord Darnley, in the year 1565, was an event which ſeemed to croſs Murray's ambitious views, by placing a maſter over him for the preſent, and by the proſpect of the queen's iſſue cutting off all his hopes for the future. For preventing this marriage, a conſpiracy and aſſociation were formed, of which Murray was the head, to ſeize the queen and lord Darnley at the kirk of Beith, on their return from Perth, on the firſt of July 1565; to ſend her a priſoner to the caſtle of Lochlevin, and either to murther, or to ſeize Darnley, and ſend him priſoner to England. We ſhall ſtate the evidence, and leave the reader to judge for himſelf.

Randolph, from his letters, ſtill extant, appears to have been deeply engaged with theſe conſpirators; in his letter, 3d. of June, he thus writes to Cecil: "People have ſmall joy in this their new maſter, and find nothing, but that God muſt find him a ſhort end, or them a miſerable life. The dangers of thoſe he hateth are great: but they find ſome ſupport, that what he intendeth to others, may light upon himſelf."

In his letter of the 2d. of July, he writes thus: with my lord of Murray I have lately ſpoken; he is grieved to ſee the follies in his ſovereign; he lamenteth the ſtate of the country, that tendeth to utter ruin; he feareth that

that the nobility ſhall be forced to aſſemble themſelves together, to do her honour and reverence, as they are in duty bound, but at the ſame time, to provide for the ſtate, that it do not utterly periſh.----The duke, the earl of Argyle, and he, (Murray) concur in this device, many others are like to join them in the ſame: what will enſue, let wiſe men judge."

How the ruin of the ſtate was to enſue from the queen's marriage, or what her follies were, is not ſo eaſy to be comprehended. That the queen's marriage was a very great bar in the way of Murray and his party, is obvious; and for that reaſon, the moſt deſperate remedies were put in execution by them, to prevent its having effect. At this very period, however, it is acknowledged by all hiſtorians, that the queen was the darling of her people, that her government was mild and unexceptionable to all. This the lateſt hiſtorian of thoſe times candidly acknowledges. The only grievance therefore, here complained of by Murray and Randolph, ſeems to be, that the queen ſhould think of marriage at all, which they foreſaw might put an end to that party in the Engliſh intereſt, which Elizabeth cheriſhed in order to diſturb the government, and of which Murray, for his own private views, was the head.

What length this aſſociation was reſolved to go, to prevent the marriage, we proceed to unfold.

Randolph thus writes to Cecil on the 2d. of July: "Darnley's behaviour is ſuch, as he is run in contempt of all men, even of thoſe that

that were his chief friends; what ſhall become of him I know not, but it is greatly to be feared that he can have no long life among his people." Here is a prediction, which, without the gift of prophecy, Randolph might very ſafely make from what follows in his letter. "The queſtion (ſays he) has been aſkt me, whether, if they (Darnley and his father Lennox) were delivered to us at Berwick, we would receive them? I anſwered, we would receive our own, in what ſort ſoever they came unto us;" i. e. dead or alive.

This conſpiracy being detected by the queen the very day before it was to have been put in execution, ſhe, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Athol, and what men he could inſtantly raiſe, made a ſudden march to Edinburgh, which entirely diſconcerted Murray and his confederates, inſomuch, that ſeeing themſelves detected, they made their retreat to Stirling, where they aſſembled their ſtrength, and ſoon after roſe in open rebellion. This appeared to be ſo unprovoked, and unjuſtifiable to the whole nation, that the queen, with her whole people on her ſide, found it an eaſy matter to cruſh Murray and his party, who fled into England.

The reſolution of Murray and his party, to riſe in flat rebellion, is thus opened to us by their confidant, Randolph, in his letter to Cecil at this very time, the 3d. of September 1565. "The lords were forced from Edin-
"burgh.---The queen ſuſpects Morton, yet
"hath he not the wit to leave her. She
"weareth a piſtol charged when in the field;
and

" and of all her troops her huſband only has " quilted armour.---Diverſe of the other ſide " are appointed to ſet upon the queen's huſ- " band, and either kill him or die themſelves. " They expect relief from England: much " promiſed, but little received as yet. If her " majeſty will now help them; they doubt " not, but one country will receive both the " queens."

I ſhall only add one teſtimony more, that is, no leſs than the affirmation of moſt of the Scotch nobility: among whom were the earls of Argyle, of Rothes, and of the lord Boyd, who at firſt joined with Murray, but afterwards ſubmitted, and were pardoned, and muſt have known the truth of what they ſubſcribed to concerning Murray, their aſſociate. " He, (Murray) at this time, conſpired the ſlaughter of the lord Darnley, and to have impriſoned her highneſs in Lochlevin, and to uſurp the government."

Thus have we full and clear proof, from the concurrent teſtimonies of the conſpirators themſelves, of a plot and confederacy formed by Murray and his party for overturning the government, dethroning queen Mary, and murthering the lord Darnley; and this carried into execution by an open rebellion, headed by Murray, which queen Mary cruſhed, and obliged him to take refuge under queen Elizabeth, whoſe ſhare in this enterprize is ſufficiently proved by the preceding teſtimonies.

What motives, may we not in our turn aſk, could induce Murray, at this time, when

when the kingdom was in univerſal peace and quiet, under the mild government of his benefactreſs, who had raiſed him to the height of power next to herſelf, and truſted him with the adminiſtration of all affairs, thus, unprovoked, to form a plot to dethrone her, and murther her huſband? what elſe, but that inordinate luſt of power, that ambition, to ſet himſelf at the head of the government, and to rule alone? and although he failed at this time in his attempt, yet, by perſevering in his ſcheme, he was ſoon after ſucceſsful.

Malum minatum et damnum ſecutum, ſay the lawyers, is a moſt certain preſumption of guilt, which nothing but the moſt poſitive evidence of the contrary, can remove. Of the malum minatum, the evil threatned by Murray to the lord Darnley, carried even into execution, it is impoſſible to produce a more pregnant proof than by the preceding teſtimonies, nor was the actual murder of that prince ſo far from this period, as to remove that preſumption. Murray's rebellion and baniſhment was in October 1565; and Darnley's murder happened in the beginning of the year 1567, February the 10th; that is ſcarce ſixteen months diſtant, and within leſs than eleven months after Murray was recalled from his baniſhment.

Thus we ſee the traces of this confederacy of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, as early as the queen's return to Scotland: we have ſeen that Murray and Lethington acted upon the ſame plan of having queen Mary intercepted by the Engliſh: and we have

alſo

alſo ſeen, from Randolph's letter, that although Morton did not openly join Murray in his rebellion, yet he was ſtrongly ſuſpected by the queen at that very time. The plan of theſe conſummate politicians was not ſo ſhallow, as openly to embark all together, to riſk their whole ſtock in one bottom; one adventure might fail, but ſo long as they kept a reſerve at home, affairs might be retrieved, and their unwearied attempts at laſt ſucceed. Hitherto the traces of this confederacy appear only faint; we ſhall ſee gradually, as we advance, the light break in; by the aid of which, we ſhall ſtep by ſtep follow them into their dark retreat.

In the beginning of April, 1566, the parliament was to have met; to which Murray and his accomplices were ſummoned to appear, in order to their attainder, on account of their rebellion. To prevent this blow, and likewiſe to forward the main ſcheme, a new plot is deviſed by Morton and Lethington. The queen was, at this time, above ſix months advanced in her pregnancy, when, on the evening of the 9th of March as ſhe ſat at ſupper in her own private apartment, in the palace of Holyrood-houſe, in the preſence of the king, the counteſs of Argyle, her ſecretary David Rizio, and two or three domeſtics in waiting, the earl of Morton, the lords Lindſay and Ruthven, at the head of five hundred men, in compleat armour, having made themſelves maſters of the palace, Ruthven a moſt ghaſtly figure of a man, at the head of a few ruffians, with their daggers drawn,

drawn, ruſh into the room, overturn the table at which the queen ſat, and ſtab to the heart Rizio at her feet, where he had taken refuge: then dragging the ſhrieking wretch to the door, they lay him dead with numberleſs wounds. After this they return to the queen, almoſt dead, as may be well imagined, with fear, and threatning death to her, upbraid her, in moſt ſhocking terms, with mal-adminiſtration by Rizio's counſel, encouraging papiſts, and baniſhing Murray and the other lords, whom, they tell her, ſhe ſhould ſee in her preſence the next day; boaſting of their party, and that the king was alſo on their ſide. Accordingly the next day, a proclamation is iſſued in the king's name only, ordering the peers, and other members that were to have met in parliament, to retire to their homes: and Murray, and the other exiles in England, knew ſo well what was done in Edinburgh, that they appeared there within twenty-four hours of Rizio's aſſaſſination. We have in the Cotton library, the articles then agreed on between lord Darnley on his part, and the earl of Murray and the baniſhed lords on their part; their being recalled from exile, and their aſſiſting him in getting poſſeſſion of the crown matrimonial for life. From this we have a proof of Murray and Morton joining hand in hand in this conſpiracy. Let us now ſee if we can trace their friend Lethington's ſteps in it. Calderwood, a contemporary author, thus writes, "ſecretary Lethington retained the earl of Athole with himſelf, within his lodging; for Lethington was privy to the plot, and

and ſupped that night with the earl, partly on purpoſe to with-hold him from offering, or to ſave him from ſuffering any violence, and partly that he himſelf might not be ſuſpected by the queen, having the earl of Athole for a witneſs of his behaviour."

This is ſufficient to ſhew, that the triumvirate were all joined in concert in this conſpiracy, and acted ſtill on their old plan, of not appearing all of them openly, ſo as in caſe of a failure in their plot, ſome one or other of them, by keeping out of the affair, might be able to keep footing at court, and reſtore his brethren in diſgrace.

A very little reflection makes one ſee, with amazement, the depth and extent of this well-concerted plot, which had the greateſt probability of terminating in the deſtruction of the queen, her offspring, and of her huſband himſelf, whoſe weakneſs and brutality could lead him to join with the queen's, and his own worſt enemies, in ſo horrid a conſpiracy.

The death of Rizio was ſurely the leaſt view of the conſpirators. Had that been their ſole aim, a hundred ways occurred to have diſpatched him out of her ſight; but that could have had no conſequence. In the plan they purſued, how big a ſcene for expectation appeared? A band of armed ruffians, with their daggers brandiſhed, to ruſh on a ſudden into the preſence of a woman ſix months gone with child, to overturn the table at which ſhe ſat, and to ſtab a man hanging by her knees! From this ſcene of ſhrieks, blood and horror, was it natural to expect

leſs than the queen's abortion? Might they not expect her death? And, in any event, was not this an infallible means of bringing on an immediate rupture between the queen and her huſband? In this laſt view the ſcheme ſucceeded: it was impoſſible for the queen, or indeed any woman, readily to forgive a huſband, who had joined in ſo barbarous a conſpiracy againſt her life and that of his own offſpring; one too, whom ſhe had raiſed from a ſtate of exile to her throne; and on whom ſhe had laviſhed her whole affection.

Altho' the aſſaſſination of Rizio, in which Morton was the open ringleader, had ſo far ſucceeded as to bring home his friend Murray, whom the queen, his ſiſter, was ſo gracious as to pardon for his treaſon and former offences; yet Morton, in his turn, was baniſhed. As he had now, however, two ſuch good friends at court as Murray and Lethington, he was in hopes of being ſoon recalled. And in a letter from Morton and Ruthven, then in exile at Berwick, dated the 2d. of April 1566, to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, they thus unfold their expectations.

"Since we are in trouble for the relief of our brethren and the religion; we doubt not to find your favour, as our brethren have done before, who were of late baniſhed; deſiring you moſt heartily, that by yourſelf, and ſuch others as you may procure, we may find favour at the queen's majeſty, your miſtreſs's hands, for remaining within her highneſs's realm, until ſuch time as we may be relieved by the help of our brethren, which we hope in God ſhall be ſhortly."

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The next ſtep, of Murray and Lethington, (who had carefully, as we have ſeen, kept himſelf hid from view in this laſt plot) was to have their aſſociate Morton reſtored again to favour. For this purpoſe the propoſal made by Murray and Lethington, firſt to the earl of Huntley and Argyle, and after that to the queen herſelf, falls here to be conſidered.

In the famous declaration of the earls of Huntly and Argyle, theſe two noblemen declare, that in the month of December, (the ſame year) 1566, while the queen was reſiding at the caſtle of Craigmillar, the earl of Murray and ſecretary Lethington came into their apartment in the morning, "and lamenting the baniſhment of the erle of Morton, lord Lindſay and Rowen, with the reſt of their faction, ſaid, that the occaſion of the murther of David, ſlane be thame in the preſence of the queen's majeſtie, was for to troubill and impeſche the parliament, quhairin the erle of Muray and utheris ſould have bene foirsaltit, and declarit rebellis. And ſeing that the ſamin was chieflie for the weilfare of the erle of Murray, it ſold be eſtemit ingratitude, gif he and his friendis, in reciproque manner, did not interpryſe all that wer in thair puiſſance for releif of the ſaid is baniſhis; quhairfoir thay thocht, that we, of our part, ſould have bene as deſyrous thairto as thay wer."

"And we agreing to the ſame, to do all that was in us for their relief, provyding that the queen's majeſtie ſhould not be offendit thairat; Lethington proponit and ſaid, "that

the neareſt and beſt way till obtene the ſaid erle of Mortoun's pardoun, was, to promiſe to the queen's majeſty, to find ane moyen to mak divorcement betwixt hir grace and the king hir huſband, quha had offendit hir hienas ſa hielie in mony wayis."

"Quhairunto we anſwering, that we knew not how that might be done, Lethington ſaid, the erle of Murray being ever preſent, "My lord, cair zon not thairof. We ſal fynd the meane weill eneugh to mak hir quyte of him, ſwa that ze and my lord of Huntlie will onlie behald the matter, and not be offended thairat."

"Swa thairefter we paſt altogidder towardis the queen's grace, quhair Lethington, efter recounting the king's intollerabill offences, and his continewing everie day from evil to worſe; made the propoſal to the queen, as mentioned above, of making divorcement betweene the queen and him; to this the queen was averſe, by reaſon it might perhaps prejudice her ſon, and ſaid, that peradventure he (Darnley) wald change opinion, and that it wer better that ſche hirſelf for ane tyme paſſit in France, abyding till he acknowleg it himſelf."

Then Lethington ſaid, "Madame, we of the principal of zour grace's nobilitie and counſall, ſall fynd the moyen, that zour majeſtie ſall be quyte of him without prejudice of zour ſone. And albeit that my lord of Murray heir preſent be lytill les ſcrupulous for ane proteſtant nor zour grace is for ane papiſt, I am aſſurit he will luik throw his fingeris thairto, and will behald our doings,

ſaying

ſaying nathing to the ſamen." The quene anſwerit, "I will, that ze do nathing quhairthro' ony ſpot may be layit to my honor or conſcience, and thairfor I pray zou rather lat the matter be in the eſtait as it is, abyding till God of his guidnes put remeid thairto; that ze beleffing to do me ſervice may poſſibill turn to my hurt and diſpleaſour." "Madame, (ſaid Lethington) let us guide the matter amaugis us, and zour grace ſall ſee nathing but guid, and approvit be parliament."

The inference made by Huntly and Argyle from this procedure of Murray, and Lethington is in theſe words: "Swa efter the premiſſis, the murther of the ſaid Henry Stewart following, we judge in our conſciences, and haldis for certane and trueth, that the ſaidis erle of Murray, and ſecretarie Lethingtoune were auctoris, inventaris, devyſeris, counſallouris, and cauſeris of the ſaid murthour, in quhat manner, or be quhat ſumever perſonnis the ſamin was execute."

"And where the ſaidis erle of urray, and Lethingtoun, or any of thame, will deny and ganeſay to the foreſaid, we are deliberat to defend the ſamin be law of armis, as our awin proper honor, in quhatſumever place hay will cheiſe. And gif the queen's maeſtie of England pleiſis to ſend ony in her ame, to heir and ſee the premiſſis defendit, he ſamin ſall be put to execution in thair reſence."

The earl of Murray's anſwer to the above, s as follows: "Becauſe the cuſtume of my

adverſaris is, and has bene, rather to calumpniat and backbite me in my abſence, than befoir my face; and that it may happen thame, quhen I am departit furth of this realme, (England) ſclanderouſlie and untrewlie to reporte of me, ſum ſpechis haldin in my hearing at Craigmillar, in the month of November 1566, I have alreddie declarit to the queen's (Elizabeth's) majeſtie, the effect of the haill purpoſis, ſpokin in my audience at the ſamyn tyme, ſincerelie and trewlie, not conceilling ony part to my remembrance, as hir heineſs I traiſt will report. And farther, in cais ony man will ſay and affirm, that ever I was preſent, quhen ony purpoſis wer halding at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to any unlauchful or diſhonorabill end. I avow they ſpeik wickitlie and untrewlie, quhilk I will mantene aganis thame, as becumis an honeſt man, to the end of my lyfe."

What explanation the earl of Murray was pleaſed to give to queen Elizabeth, his friend and confidant of the above conferences, held by him in the caſtle of Craigmillar, we are yet to learn.

We ſee from this extraordinary anſwer of Murray, that he does not deny the conferences and propoſal alledged to have been made by him and Lethington, as the earls of Huntly and Argyle have declared in their proteſtation. It therefore muſt appear to any unprejudiced perſon, that what theſe noblemen have affirmed is true. We leave every perſon to judge of the propriety of the inference

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theſe noblemen draw of Murray and Lethington's guilt, and acceſſion to the murder which was committed within a few weeks of their propoſal to make the queen quyte of him.

Of this proteſtation, as it is called of Huntley and Argyle, we have a copy preſerved in the Cotton library, with the original of Murray's anſwer, ſigned by himſelf, James Regent, paſted on the back of the proteſtation; and at the foot of this is written, by ſecretary Cecil's own hand: "19th of January 1568. An anſwer of the earl of Murray to a writing of the earl of Huntly and Argyle."

Within a few days after the conferences in the caſtle of Craigmillar, viz. on Chriſtmas 1566, the queen was prevailed upon to grant a pardon to the earl of Morton, and to 75 of his accomplices in Rizio's ſlaughter. This was the previous and neceſſary ſtep of the confederates to the grand enterprize, which ſoon after, upon Morton's appearing again in the ſcene, was to take place. Accordingly, upon the 9th of February 1567, the earl of Murray affected publickly to aſk leave to go from court to his houſe in St. Andrews. And the next morning, the 10th of February, the king's houſe was blown up with gunpowder, and his body found dead.

Before we go further, it may not be improper to call back our attention to two facts which throw ſome light on the dark affair. It is told us by all the hiſtorians, and particularly by the lateſt, Dr. Robertſon, that

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in the end of October 1566, about three months before lord Darnley's murder, he intended to have left the kingdom, and to have gone into foreign parts, and with great difficulty was diſſuaded from this purpoſe by the queen."

The other fact is the propoſal made by Murray and Lethington to the queen in the caſtle of Craigmillar, to procure a divorce between her and Darnley, which propoſal the queen utterly rejected.

Now, as both theſe incidents happened within ſo ſhort a time of Darnley's murder, and at the time when his behaviour to the queen was moſt ſhocking: if the queen had been deſirous to get rid of her huſband, can we conceive, that ſhe would have rejected both theſe opportunities, of being ſo effectually freed from him without trouble, and rather chuſe to involve herſelf in the horrid crime of murder?

Should we ſuppoſe, that the reaſon of her rejecting the propoſal of the divorce, might proceed from an apprehenſion of doing hurt to her ſon's title, yet Darnley's project of going abroad, not only freed her from his company, but likewiſe (if we can ſuppoſe her ſo wicked as her enemies have aſſerted) afforded her many opportunities, either of keeping him out of the kingdom, or of conſpiring his death at a diſtance by unknown hands.

I now proceed to examine the conduct of Murray and his confederates, ſubſequent to the murder of Lord Darnley.

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Murray, we have ſeen, choſe the very day before the murder to withdraw from court, and to go over the Forth to his caſtle of St. Andrews: ſoon after, he returned to court, and with Bothwell, Morton, Lethington, and their party, was in high favour and confidence with the queen.

All the hiſtorians agree, that the earl of Bothwell was one of the principal actors in the king's murder. The earl of Morton and Lethington, as we ſhall afterwards ſhew, were both of them acceſſaries; and Morton in his confeſſion as delivered at his death, expreſſly acknowledges, that Bothwell made him privy to the bloody deſigns. We have no direct evidence, indeed, that Morton and Lethington communicated this affair to their friend Murray; we ſhall therefore leave it to the impartial reader, upon weighing all circumſtances, to judge for himſelf of the probability of their keeping this ſecret from their boſom friend, hitherto ſo cloſely aſſociated with them; and who was himſelf, according to their ſchemes, to be the chief gainer by Darnley's death. The part Murray was to play, as laid down by Lethington in the caſtle of Craigmillar, was "to look through his fingers and behold their doings, ſaying nothing." How faithfully Murray acted up to this we ſhall further ſee.

The general report having loaded Bothwell with the murther of Darnley, the earl of Lenox, by ſeveral letters, addreſſed the queen, to bring Bothwell, and other ſuſpected perſons to trial. The queen accordingly gives

gives orders for trying Bothwell, and by a letter of the 24th of March, requeſts Lenox to repair to Edinburgh, with his friends the approaching week.

After this we find the earl of Murray preſent at court until the 9th day of April, two days before Bothwell's trial was to proceed, when having obtained leave of the queen, he departed for France. Having lent his aſſiſtance in preparing matters for the farce that was ſoon to follow, he moſt ſtrictly adheres to his plan of retiring himſelf from the ſcene, leaving his faithful actors Morton and Lethington, to perform the active part of the drama.

On the 28th of March, we find the queen by the advice of her nobles and privy council ordains trial to be taken againſt Bothwell, upon the 12th day of April following, before the high court of juſtice at Edinburgh. Beſides the above letter of the queen to Lenox, of the 24th of March, deſiring his immediate preſence, with his friends, at Edinburgh, the act directs public intimation to be made to the earl, to attend on the ſaid 12th of April.

Lenox, in conſequence of theſe intimations, ſets out from his houſe near Dumbarton, which was but forty miles diſtant from Edinburgh, and comes to Stirling, from whence he writes to the queen upon the eleventh of April, the very night before the trial, excuſing himſelf for not appearing there, on account, as he pretends, of his falling ſick on his journey; at the ſame time he complains of the

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ſhortneſs of time allowed him for convening his friends, and requeſts the day of trial to be adjourned. This ſudden requeſt of Lenox coming too late, the trial notwithſtanding proceeded.

I make no ſcruple to affirm, that the whole procedure at this trial, was altogether a ſham, in conſequence of a premeditated ſcheme, contrived to have Bothwell acquitted. The whole was managed by Morton and his party. The earl of Argyle, in right of his hereditary office of Lord high Juſtice general, preſided at the trial; but, as the cuſtom was, aſſeſſors moſtly lawyers, were appointed to ſit in judgement with him. Theſe were the four following: the lord Lindſay, one of the principal conſpirators with Morton in the murder of Rizio; the abbot of Dunfermline; Mr. James Macgill, and Mr. Henry Balnaves, lord of Seſſion. The whole four were confidants of Murray and Morton, and ſoon after accompanied their patrons, Murray and Morton, to England, acting as commiſſioners in the proceedings againſt their ſovereign for this very murder, of which they now acquitted Bothwell. Before theſe judges the earl of Bothwell appeared in Court, on the twelfth of April, accompanied by his confidant the earl of Morton, who ſtood impannelled with him; and none appearing to make good the charge, Bothwell in conſequence was acquitted. So ended this mock trial.

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the other nobles who at that time attended the parliament. In this they aſſert Bothwell's innocence, promiſe to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, and, to ſum up all, with one voice, recommend him to the queen, as the moſt proper perſon ſhe could chuſe for a huſband. And if ſhe would accept him, they undertake to ſupport him with their whole power againſt all mortal. It concludes thus,

"And in caſe any will preſume, directly or indirectly,---to hinder or diſturb the ſaid marriage, we ſhall fortify the ſaid earl (Bothwell) ſo far as it may pleaſe our ſaid ſovereign lady to allow, and therein ſhall ſpend and beſtow our lives and goods, againſt all that live or die may, as we ſhall anſwer to God, and on our own fidelity and conſcience; and in caſe we do in the contrary, never to have reputation or credit in no time hereafter, but to be accounted unworthy and faithleſs traitors."

The bond was ſubſcribed by the following perſons: the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the biſhops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dumblain, Brechin, Roſs, the Iſles, and Orkney; the earls of Huntley, Argyle, Morton, Caſſils, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithneſs, and Rothes; the lords Boyd, Glamys, Ruthven, (ſon of that Ruthven, who was ſo capitally concerned in Rizio's murder, and who died during his exile in the North of England) Sempil, Herries, Ogilvie, and Fleming.

Herries, who was a man of the moſt ſtubborn virtue of any of Mary's friends, not only ſigned the bond which attends this, but the

the marriage articles between her and Bothwell; and he was one among others, who thought, at that time, that Bothwell was ignorant of Darnley's murder; and that, as will appear by his after-conduct, it was contrived and perpetrated by Murray and Morton.

My reaſon is, that Mary having the ſolemn acquittal of Bothwell, and the ſtrong aſſociating of her principal nobility in his favour, lying before her, muſt be preſumed to believe him innocent of her huſband's murder, and to think that they were of the ſame opinion. She began now to think that the advice given her to marry Bothwell might be politically right. I cannot however imagine, that ſhe could have any amorous affection for a debauchee of ſixty years of age, who had diſſipated his fortune in courting her mother twenty-four years before.

On the fifteenth of May, the day appointed for their fatal nuptials, they were celebrated according to the reformed manner, in the council-chamber, within the palace of Holyrood-houſe, by Adam Bothwell, formerly biſhop of Orkney. Bothwell's behaviour, after marriage, was brutal beyond belief; and the reflections of the diſgrace ſhe had brought upon herſelf were ſuch, that Mary was even heard to threaten to put an end to her own life.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſymptoms of general diſlike, Mary was more pitied than blamed. Her great ſubjects were conſcious to themſelves how inſtrumental they had been in miſleading her. The earls of Huntley and

Crawford, the lords Fleming, Herries, and Boyd, the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and the biſhop of Galloway and others, ſtill aſſiſted at the meetings of the privy-council, which met two days after the marriage; and one of the firſt meaſures of the new adminiſtration was a revocation paſſed by Mary "of any writings that might have been paſſed for permitting any perſons to uſe the old form of religion, becauſe ſhe intends inviolably to maintain the act publiſhed concerning religion, upon her ſafe arrival from France."

Certain it is that ſhe had no reaſon to believe Bothwell guilty of her huſband's murder; and that the opinion of his innocence was abſolutely confined under the hands of the nobility and others, who recommended him to her for a huſband. That theſe are facts, is paſt contradiction; nor are they to be invalidated by the moſt plauſible conjectures or ſurmiſes. The misfortunes of Mary at that time differed, perhaps, from that of any other woman ever circumſtanced like her. She was ſurrounded by perſons whoſe intereſt it was to ſhut truth out, to keep her in the dark; and in ignorance of all that ſhe owed to her dignity as a queen, or her reputation as a woman. They pretended that ſhe had no ſafety but in marrying Bothwell; and the experience ſhe had of her people's temper, gave too fair a gloſs to the illuſion.

It is ſcarce poſſible for the man of wit to deviſe words more binding by every tie, human and divine, than thoſe of the above bond, ſubſcribed by Morton and the Scotch nobility

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in order to induce the queen to this fatal marriage. Yet what a ſhocking thing is it, to think, that even Morton himſelf, one of the principal ringleaders in the aſſociation, ſhould within a little more than a month, riſe in arms againſt his ſovereign, head a rebellion, and dethrone and impriſon her, upon this remarkable pretext, "That by her ungodlie and diſhonourable proceeding in a private marriage with (Bothwell)---it is certain ſhe was privy art and part of the murder of the king."

No ſooner was this unhappy marriage concluded, than Morton, Lethington, and the reſt of the party, hitherto the pretended friends of Bothwell, threw off their maſks; theſe very men, the aſſociates of Morton, who had been the chief inſtruments employed in the trial and acquitting of Bothwell; who had contrived the infamous bond, aſſerting his innocence, addreſſing the queen to marry him, and ſolemnly binding themſelves to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes; were the men who, immediately after the marriage, formed an aſſociation againſt the queen and this very Bothwell; and ſo cloſely had they carried on their meaſures, that within three weeks after the marriage, they were ready to have made the queen and Bothwell priſoners in her own palace. But having a hint given them of the conſpiracy, on the 6th of June, they made a very narrow eſcape from Holyroodhouſe, and came to the earl of Bothwell's caſtle of Borthwick; from thence they went to Dunbar, and in a few days after, the queen having haſtily called together a handful

of ſuch of her ſubjects, ſhe and Bothwell marched towards Edinburgh; and were met by the earl of Morton and his party, at Carberry-hill, about five miles from that city.

An interview was brought about between the queen and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, on the part of the rebels, who required no other terms than thoſe of her diſmiſſing Bothwell from her preſence, and promiſed upon that condition, all dutiful obedience. She relying on the faith of this treaty, directly went over to the oppoſite army, and delivered herſelf into their hands. How well did theſe gentlemen keep their faith!

Dr. Robertſon has, in very ſtrong colours, painted the vile indignities offered to this unfortunate princeſs. His words are, "As ſoon as Bothwell retired, Mary ſurrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her towards the confederate army: the leaders of which received her with much reſpect, and Morton, in their name, made ample profeſſions of their future loyalty and obedience. But ſhe was treated by the common ſoldiers with the utmoſt inſolence and indignity, who poured upon her all the opprobrious names commonly beſtowed on the loweſt and moſt infamous criminals. Wherever ſhe turned her eyes, they held up before her a ſtandard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, ſtretched on the ground, and the young prince kneeling before it, and uttering theſe words, "Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from ſuch a ſpectacle, ſhe began already to feel the wretched

wretched condition to which a captive prince is reduced. She uttered the moſt bitter complaints; ſhe melted into tears, and could ſcarce be kept from ſinking to the ground. The confederates carried her towards Edinburgh.---- The ſtreets were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curioſity had drawn together to behold ſuch an unuſual ſcene. The queen worn out with fatigue, covered with duſt, and bedewed with tears, was expoſed as a ſpectacle to her own ſubjects, and led to the Provoſt's houſe; and, notwithſtanding her intreaties, the ſame ſtandard was carried before her, and the ſame inſults repeated."

On this pathetic deſcription of Dr. Robertſon, I muſt beg leave to make a remark. According to the doctor, we are to underſtand that all the inſults and indignities offered to the queen, were from the common ſoldiers and the mob. But a very little attention will convince us, that Morton and his aſſociates, conducted the whole; and that the mob, who openly inſulted their ſovereign, were influenced and ſpirited on by them. Neither the mob, nor the ſoldiers could have directed the queen to be expoſed in ſo indecent a manner, carried along the ſtreets of Edinburgh, and lodged in the provoſt's or mayor's houſe, which was ſituated in the upper part of the city, when the queen's own palace of Holyrood-houſe was ſituated at the lower end of the city, and directly in the road from Carberry hills.

The ſhocking ſtandard too, a device previouſly contrived to influence the rabble againſt their queen, was above the invention

of a blind mob, and to demonſtration ſhews, from what quarter it came, and that nothing was omitted by Morton and his aſſociates to influence the unthinking commonalty againſt their queen, to extinguiſh every ſentiment of compaſſion, and to excite them to give their aſſent to the more violent meaſures which were ſoon to follow.

Yet "the honeſter ſort among the citizens, ſtung with remorſe and pity (ſays Crawford's manuſcript) crowded to the place, and had certainly ſet her at liberty, if the conſpirators, who knew the honeſt temper of the queen, had not with a well-feigned grief, proteſted they were ſorry they had given her ſuch cauſe of complaint, and that they would inſtantly reſtore her to her palace of Holy-rood houſe." This they accordingly did that evening; but to prevent any attempt of reſcue, ſhe was in the night privily conveyed, and with haſte, in diſguiſed apparel, to the ſtrong fortreſs of Lochlevin, and after a few days ſtripped and ſpoiled of all her princely attirements, and clothed with a coarſe brown caſſock." We have only to add, that the perſon who undertook the infamous office of carrying his ſovereign a captive to her priſon, was the lord Lindſay, Morton's cloſe friend, who had been a confederate with him in the murder of Rizio, for which the queen had generouſly pardoned them both, and recalled them from baniſhment only ſix months before this period.

The pretence given out by Morton and his aſſociates for taking arms againſt the queen and Bothwell, was to revenge the king's death

death, and to proſecute his murderers, and chiefly Bothwell, whom they aſſerted to be the principal perſon concerned in it. Notwithſtanding, upon the queen's delivering herſelf into their hands at Carberry hill, on the 15th of June, 1567, altho' they broke their faith to her, and ſent her priſoner to Lochlevin, yet they allowed the earl of Bothwell, to retire from the field almoſt alone, without attempting to follow him. He went ſtrait to Dunbar Caſtle, where he quietly remained until the 26th of June. We find an order of Morton and his council dated on that day for ſummoning "the keeper of Dunbar Caſtle to ſurrender the ſame, becauſe the earl of Bothwell was reſet and received within the ſaid caſtle.

This was a civil intimation for him to ſhift his quarters; how long after this he choſe to abide there, does not appear: but ſometime after, as high admiral of Scotland he went to ſea, with ſome few ſhips under his command, and cruized along the northern coaſt, until the 11th of Auguſt, when a commiſſion was iſſued to Murray of Fullibardine and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, to provide ſhips, "and to purſue the earl of Bothwell, by ſea or land, by fire and ſword." In conſequence of which a fleet being ſent after him, Bothwell fled to the coaſt of Denmark, where by ſome of the king of Denmark's ſhips, he was taken priſoner and carried to Denmark. "They were glad (ſays Crawford's manuſcript) of his eſcape from Carberry-hill, for no man purſued him, nor

nor did any offer to attack him at Dunbar, whither he retreated and ſtaid at leaſt fourteen days; and indeed, if Grange had taken him at Orkney, it is more than probable (leſt he had betrayed his accomplices) that he had been ſacrificed on the ſpot.

The confederates having thus ſecured the queen and expelled Bothwell the kingdom, compleated their ſcheme, by wreſting the reins of government from their ſovereign, and ſeizing them into their own hands. And thus matters reſted as to any further enquiry after Bothwell, during Murray's life.

After his death the earl of Lennox, father to the lord Darnley, having ſucceeded him in the regency, ſent over, in the year 1570, one Thomas Buchanan, as his miniſter to the court of Denmark to ſolicit that king, to have the earl of Bothwell delivered up to him. However, Buchanan ſent over an account of his tranſactions to Lennox, which probably contained ſome particulars from the mouth of Bothwell relating to the murder. Theſe were not thought proper to be expoſed to light. The earl of Morton at this time was at London, negociating to have queen Mary ſtill detained priſoner. This embaſſy to Denmark was not reliſhed by him. He appears to have been ſuſpicious of ſome diſcoveries from that quarter. He had the addreſs therefore to intercept the above packet from Buchanan, and the boldneſs to open and peruſe the contents, though addreſſed to his maſter Lennox only: for proof of this fact, we have orton's own letter to the regent

regent Lennox ſtill preſerved; tho' Buchanan's account from Denmark is not to be found; but as Morton himſelf ſoon ſucceeded to the regency, this may eaſily be accounted for: Morton's letter to the regent is in theſe words: "We reſavit a letter written furth of Denmark be Mr. Thomas Buchanan to your grace, of date the 20th of January; we take the boldneſs to open and read the letter, quailk it may plais your grace preſently to reſaive. The cauſe why it has been ſo long in ſending, was, that we thought not beſt to commit it to the throuch poſt, or a common meſſenger: for that we had na will the contents of the ſame ſuld be known, fearing that ſome words and matters mentioned in the ſame, being diſperſit heir as novellis, ſuld rather have hindered than furthered our cauſe, and thairfore, being deſirit at court to ſhow the letter, we gave to underſtand, that we had ſent the principal away, and deliverit a copy, omittand ſic things as we thought not meet to be ſhawn, as your grace may perceive by the like copy, quhilk alſo we have ſent you herewith, quhilk ye may communicate to ſic as your grace thinks not expedient to communicate the haill contents of the principal letter unto."

This letter is ſigned by Morton; and likewiſe by the abbot of Dunformline and Macgill, two perſons whom we have already ſeen employed as uſeful inſtruments to Murray and Morton, particularly as judges in the trial of this very Bothwell, and ſoon after employed as

as commiſſioners in accuſing the queen. This noted letter, ſigned by theſe three confederates, is dated the 24th of March 1570, that is, above two months after the date of Buchanan's letter to Lenox: from which it is plain, that Morton and his aſſociates muſt have kept this letter in their hands above a month, before they were pleaſed to ſend it down to Scotland.

For what purpoſes Morton intercepted, and detained it ſo long, and why he was pleaſed to deliver a falſe and caſtrated copy, even to his good friend queen Elizabeth, and her miniſter Cecil, omitting ſome matters, that were not meet (as he acknowledged) to be ſhown, ſeems to be pretty obvious: and any one may determine, whether this whole manœuvre of Morton, intercepting this packet, breaking it open, detaining it for ſeveral weeks, concealing the contents, and taking upon him to deliver to the Engliſh court a falſe copy, does not carry the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion, that the original contained matters of great importance relating to the murder, and and particularly againſt Morton himſelf, and the whole party?

The breaking open a letter from an Ambaſſador at a foreign court, to his maſter the regent of Scotland, without authority, muſt convince every mortal, that Morton was under the greateſt anxiety and ſuſpicion, that it contained ſome dangerous diſcoveries relating to himſelf; and his keeping it ſo long under the poor pretence of not truſting it with a common meſſenger, is as convincing, that during

during that time he was practiſing upon it, and that it was not without deſign, he kept it all this while in his hands.

Lenox continuing to ſolicit the king of Denmark to ſend over Bothwell to be tried, queen Elizabeth likewiſe was pleaſed to urge the ſame requeſt: that king, agreed to ſend him over, on condition, that queen Elizabeth ſhould become bound, and likewiſe the eſtates of Scotland, by ſolemn writings, to be ſent to Denmark againſt the 24th day of Auguſt 1567, that the earl of Bothwell ſhould have a trial. This letter Lenox ſent to queen Elizabeth for her advice, by a letter of the 25th of May that year: but the ſecurity for Bothwell not being ſent, the affair was dropt altogether.

The great ſcheme of the confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, having been, as we have ſeen, to overturn the government of the queen, and to attain poſſeſſion thereof to themſelves: we have hitherto traced the triumvirate co-operating in that ſcheme, which was accompliſhed by the queen's impriſonment, and the ſettling of Murray in the regency.

But as the views of the confederates came afterwards to be ſeparated and more detached from each other, we muſt now trace their conduct ſeparately. We therefore return to the earl of Murray.

In the time of the conferences in England, the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman poſſeſſed of every amiable quality, the firſt peer in England, in rank and power, and as Sir James Melvil

Melvil juſtly ſays, at that the time greateſt ſubject in Europe, was one of Elizabeth's privy council, and one of the commiſſioners, appointed to treat with the Scotch commiſſioners on queen Mary's affairs. This patriot nobleman had very early ſeen the bottom of his miſtreſs Elizabeth's views, and had obſerved the artful contrivances uſed by her to induce Mary's rebellious ſubjects, to defame and accuſe their ſovereign: he not only knew Elizabeth's reſentment againſt a hated rival, but likewiſe, that ſhe intended to quaſh entirely, and put an end, if poſſible, to a queſtion that had often been agitated in England, viz. The affair of ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown.

The duke had, under the greateſt confidence and moſt ſolemn promiſes from Murray, of friendſhip and ſecreſy, communicated to him, his whole thoughts upon that ſubject. He had told him, that Elizabeth's plan was no other than to ſpirit them on to accuſe their ſovereign, with a view to diſappoint the ſcheme of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of England; therefore he diſſuaded Murray from ſuffering himſelf to be made the tool of Elizabeth in blackening his own ſovereign, for which all men would deteſt him.

Murray appeared to be convicted, and a mutual engagement of friendſhip was entered into between them. Notwithſtanding this, at the very firſt meeting of the Engliſh council, Murray, by a moſt perfidious behaviour, with tears in his eyes, gave in his infamous ſcroll againſt his ſovereign and benefactreſs

accuſing

accuſing her of the blackeſt crimes; and to crown all, diſcloſed the whole engagement between him and the duke to queen Elizabeth. The duke conſcious of the rectitude of his own intentions, then openly declared, "that during her life time he would never offend her, but ſerve and honour her; but after her, he would ſerve the queen of Scotland, as the only means for eſchewing civil wars and bloodſhed.

After the conferences in England were broke up, Murray, who by his treachery to the duke of Norfolk had not only loſt the friendſhip of that nobleman, but expoſed himſelf to the Engliſh court, found himſelf deſpiſed and deteſted by every body, and in very uneaſy circumſtances at London. He wanted therefore to return to Scotland; but he was quite indigent, in want of money, and having no friends to procure him aſſiſtance. Beſides, as the duke of Norfolk had the command of the whole northern parts of the kingdom, Murray knew well that he could not paſs the border in ſafety, without the duke's friendſhip; and to compaſs this, and to regain the confidence of one he had ſo lately betrayed, required the greateſt addreſs. Luckily for him, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a confidant of the duke's, and an old acquaintance of Murray, gave his aſſiſtance. The duke had, by this time, made propoſals of marriage to queen Mary. In order to accompliſh this, Throgmorton convinced him, that it would conduce to his ſucceſs to have the friendſhip of Murray: the duke

ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded. So Murray and Lethington were ſecretly brought to an interview with the duke, where neither prayers, tears, nor the moſt ſolemn promiſes and proteſtations of ſecreſy were wanting on the part of Murray. The duke, noble, generous, and open, forgave all that was paſt, and diſcloſed his breaſt to Murray and Lethington, as to his purpoſe of marriage with queen Mary; and "the regent promiſed, as far (ſays Melvil) as could be deviſed, ſo that a greater friendſhip was packed up between them than ever. So that worthy nobleman, who deſerved a better fate, was a ſecond time made the dupe of Murray's profound diſſimulation, and was ſoon after moſt perfidiouſly betrayed by him. For all this we have the undoubted authority of contemporary writers, particularly Sir James Melvil, and the author of Crawford's manuſcript, the firſt of whom is ſo much the profeſſed apologiſt of Murray, that no objection can lie againſt his authority in this matter.

After his return to Scotland, he ſent Mr. John Wood, his ſecretary, to England, with all the letters which had been ſent from the duke, that could tend to undo him. The duke was ſent to the Tower, and ſometime after beheaded.

From this ſtory, which contains ſo black a piece of treachery and ingratitude, carried on under the vileſt diſſimulation, we may judge with certainty of the real character of "the gude or godly regent." And from this alone, had we nothing elſe againſt him, we may, without

without breach of charity, conclude him to be capable of engaging in the worſt of crimes, to ſerve his own views, and to maintain himſelf in that regency, which by the ſame practices he had obtained.

After this notable action, Murray ſuſpected Lethington as one that was in queen Mary's intereſt. He apprehended, (ſay Crawford's memoirs) that Lethington had conſpired with the duke of Norfolk to effect the reſtoration of the baniſhed queen." Murray therefore wanted to take him off, as he had done the duke of Norfolk; in bringing this about, however, it required all Murray's cunning and addreſs. Lethington had been too long his confederate for Murray to venture openly to provoke him to take a deſperate meaſure, and to unfold their joint ſchemes of iniquity. It was neceſſary therefore, that the accuſation againſt Lethington ſhould come from another quarter. The earl of Lenox was under no ſuch reſtraint; his dependant, the famous Thomas Crawford, whom he had before brought as evidence againſt the queen, appeared before Murray and his council, and accuſed Lethington as acceſſary to the late king's murder: Lethington was thereupon impriſoned. Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of Lethington's friends, was then governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh. They both ſuſpected Murray to be at the bottom of this ſcheme, and told him ſo. Sir James Melvil ſays, "Murray's apology was, it was not in his power to ſave Lethington from priſon, ſeeing he was accuſed, againſt his will, for

the king's murder; but that Grange ſhould know his honeſt part thereof at meeting." However Grange, thought it beſt not to truſt to Murray's fair words, he therefore ſent a party from the caſtle, and took Lethington into his own hands, and ſo this affair ended. The earl of Murray being ſhot at Linlithgow in January, 1570, his friend the earl of Morton, now at the head of the party, took upon him immediately to call a meeting of the nobility, eſpecially ſuch, ſays Crawford, as were the queen's enemies. The friends of the queen upon this, deſired the meeting to be adjourned to a longer day, that the whole nobility might have time to attend this convention. Notwithſtanding, Morton and his friends met on the day appointed, when the firſt thing Morton got done, was an act of the convention, abſolving Lethington from the late accuſation brought againſt him, as acceſſary to the late king's murder; "and recognoſcing him, as an honeſt man, in his own place again; and as a good and profitable inſtrument in this common weill." After this the earl of Lenox was declared regent of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding this abſolution of Lethington, the very ſame year the regent Lenox, diſmiſſed the ſecretary from his offices, proclaimed him a traitor on account of the late king's murder, and an act of forfeiture was paſſed againſt him.

As Morton was the regent's chief miniſter, Lethington blamed Morton as the cauſe of his forfeiture. The letters that paſt between them

them on that head, which are ſtill preſerved to us, give great light into the matter: Lethington wrote to his friend the laird of Carmichael, the following letter, which, it appears, was ſhown by him to Morton: "He (Morton) was the chief procurer and ſolicitor of my pretended forfeiture, for a crime, whereof, he knows in his conſcience; I was as innocent as himſelf." Morton's anſwer to Carmichael is as follows. "When it ſhall be conſidered who had the government, and for what cauſe the forfeiture paſt, I think they will not eſteem me the chief procurer or ſolicitor thereof. For the earl of Lenox, having the adminiſtration of juſtice in his hands, and the cauſe being the murder of the king his ſon, it might be well thought that there needed little procuration or ſolicitation. ---That I know him innocent in my conſcience as myſelf, the contrary thereof is true; for I was and am innocent thereof, but could not affirm the ſame of him, conſidering what I underſtood of that matter of his own confeſſion to myſelf."

This was very plain language between theſe confederates, now ready to fall out; but they knew they were ſtill in the hands of friends. If Morton had himſelf been intirely innocent, and knew Lethington to have been guilty of the king's murder, what could induce him, in the act of his convention 1570, to procure this murderer of the king to be abſolved of the crime, and recognized as an honeſt man? only this, that Lethington at that time was his friend and confederate. Afterwards he

fell out with him, and had the influence with the regent, ſecretly to procure Lethington's forfeiture; but for fear of provoking him to a full diſcovery of their join crimes, he durſt not openly act againſt him.

When we ſee Morton acting in this underhand manner with regard to Bothwell and Lethington, during the government of the earl of Lenox, we may eaſily conclude, that when he himſelf ſucceeded as regent, all care would be taken by him to ſtifle every proof of his guilt, during the many years of his regency. "By rebellion and innumerable ſins (ſays Crawford) he had attained to an incredible height of power, murder was habitual to him." And by the moſt oppreſſive meaſures he had amaſſed a prodigious treaſure, while he kept the young king, in a manner, a priſoner in his hands: as the king, however, grew up, and became capable to diſtinguiſh his friends, Morton, with regret, beheld them by degrees ſurround the king, while his own party dropt off from him. He choſe therefore to make a merit of neceſſity; by reſigning the regency; and he had no ſooner taken that ſtep, than an accuſation was brought againſt him to the king and council, as an accomplice in the murder of the king's father.

Upon the firſt day of June 1581, he was brought to trial before his peers. The earl of Montroſe ſat as chancellor: and upon a full proof of the crime for which he ſtood indicted, they unanimouſly pronounced the following verdict: "The jury being ripely adviſed

adviſed with his inditement, the tokens infallible and moſt evident with the probations produced, and uſed for verifying thereof, did all, with one voice, find the ſaid earl of Morton guilty, art and part, in the foreknowledge, and concealing the king's murder."

What were the particular proofs and evidences which appeared againſt him, we know not, the records being loſt. But David Moyſe, a contemporary author, then an officer in the king's houſhold, in his memoirs, thus informs us, that the jury of peers found Morton guilty, "in reſpect of ſundry evidences of his indictment, preſented to the jury, ſome whereof were ſubſcribed with his own hand. And likewiſe it was verifyed by the depoſitions of ſome perſons that were actors in that horrible fact."

Morton's chief inſtrument and confident was one Archibald Douglas, whom, from being parſon of Glaſgow, after the murder of the king, he had raiſed to the dignity of a lord of ſeſſion, and conſtantly employed as a tool in all his affairs. This man was univerſally known to have been one of the chief actors in the king's murder. Upon the earl of Morton's being accuſed, this Douglas immediately fled out of the kingdom. One of his ſervants, John Benning, was apprehended and brought to trial, for aſſiſting with his maſter in the murder; Benning, at his trial, confeſſed his being an accomplice, and that he was preſent with his maſter, Douglas, at the murder of the king; with this circumſtance,

ſtance, that his maſter being in his ſlippers, loſt them, and they being found on the ſpot next day, were known to be his.

The earl of Morton was condemned, and beheaded on the 2d of June 1581; and Benning was hanged the day after.

We have a narrative given us in Crawford's memoirs, of what Morton is ſaid to have declared, while he lay under condemnation. This narrative was given out after his death, by ſome of the clergy, who had attended him after his condemnation. But little faith ought to be given to this pretended narrative, which is no ways authenticated, as the genuine confeſſion of Morton himſelf, but delivered to us verbally, and at ſecond hand, by his friend, after his death.

Thus have we, ſtep by ſtep, traced the three confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, through the ſeveral mazes of their intrigues, from the queen's return from France, to the fatal period of the murder of the lord Darnley; and from thence to the execution of Morton, as acceſſory to that murder. From authentic evidence ſtill on record, we have made appear the cloſe and inſeparable junction and alliance of the above triumvirate, in a continued ſeries of plots, rebellions, and conſpiracies, contrived and carried on by them in their turns, for the deſtruction of the queen and her huſband, and for overturning the government.

Firſt, We have ſhown, by the united teſtimonies of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, queen Elizabeth herſelf, Camden, and ſecretary Lething-

Lethington's own letter, that on queen Mary's return from France, into Scotland, a plot was formed by Murray and Lethington, for having her intercepted in her voyage, and made priſoner by the Engliſh, in order to ſet Murray at the head of the government, and that a fleet was actually ſent out by queen Elizabeth for that purpoſe.

2. That on Mary's reſolution to marry the lord Darnley, an inſurrection was made to prevent it, by the earl of Murray and his adherents, and an attempt to ſeize her and Darnley at the kirk of Beith; which being fruſtrated, an open rebellion was raiſed, and headed by Murray, that terminated in his baniſhment. From the letters of Randolph, the Engliſh miniſter then at Edinburgh, who was acquainted by the conſpirators with the whole plot; and likewiſe from the declaration of ſome of the nobility who had joined with Murray in that rebellion, it is proved that their deſign was at that time, to have ſlain the lord Darnley, and to have ſent the queen priſoner to Lochlevin.

3. It is proved, that while the queen was far advanced in her pregnancy, the aſſaſſination of Rizio was contrived by Morton, and executed by a party of armed men, ruſhing into her preſence, and ſtabbing him at her very foot. And it is alſo proved, by the acknowledgment of the conſpirators, by Morton's letter to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and by the earl of Murray's appearing at Edinburgh within a few hours of the aſſaſſination, although he was then under baniſh-

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ment in England, that he and Lethington were deeply engaged with Morton in this aſſaſſination and conſpiracy.

4. It is proved, by the authentic declaration of a great part of the nobility of Scotland, in their inſtructions ſent up to England *anno* 1568, and likewiſe by the proteſtation and declaration of the earls of Huntly and Argyle, that in order to procure Morton's being recalled from baniſhment, on account of Rizio's aſſaſſination, the earl of Murray and Lethington, in preſence of Huntly and Argyle, propoſed to the Queen, to procure a divorce from her huſband, and to make her quit him, which ſhe rejected. And within a few Weeks after, lord Darnley was actually murdered.

Such is the complicated evidence, that appears againſt the joint confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, preceding lord Darnley's murder, in which the earl of Murray is plainly pointed out to have been at the head, and in the direction of the whole conſpiracy, until the very period of the king's murder, that he then withdrew himſelf, and ſoon after left the kingdom, and the management of the ſucceeding part of the ſcheme to his friends Morton and Lethington, who, by their rebellion and impriſonment of the queen, ſecured for him the regency of the kingdom.

It muſt ſtill, however, be acknowledged, that all this amounts to no direct proof of Murray's being an actor in the murder of lord Darnley: but when the whole of his con-

conduct, which we have traced, and detected, is conſidered, there appears the ſtrongeſt preſumptive evidence, of his being acceſſory to, and in the knowledge of the whole affair. The cloſe, ſubtle, and deep part which he was to play in the cataſtrophe, was to keep himſelf concealed behind the curtain, while the bloody work was a doing, "to look through his fingers thair to, and to behold the doings, ſaying nothing to the ſame." How faithfully he kept to this plan, we have already ſhewn. Whoever then ſhall conſider the whole of Murray's conduct, his rebellions, plots, and conſpiracies, and that by a conſtant and invariable proſecution of this plan, he at length obtained the full completion of his ſcheme, by dethroning his ſovereign, poſſeſſing himſelf of the reins of government, and by that means having it in his power, to ſmother and put out of the way all evidence that might diſcover his own guilt, with the remarkable caution obſerved by him, in taking care always to withdraw himſelf from the ſcene, at the preciſe time when the deciſive events were ready to fall out, muſt plainly ſee, that the foregoing preſumptive proof againſt Murray, from circumſtances, is the only one which, from the nature of things, can at this day be expected.

The evidence is much ſtronger, with regard to his two aſſociates, Morton, and Lethington: the ſame preſumptive proof as againſt Murray, not only appears againſt them, but we have likewiſe a poſitive proof joined to it, againſt each of theſe aſſociates, viz. The mutual

mutual retorted accuſation of each of them againſt the other, joined in the act of forfeiture againſt Lethington, by the regent Lennox, and the indictment, verdict, and ſentence, paſt by the peers of the kingdom againſt Morton, as an accomplice in the king's murder, together with his own confeſſion (as given us by his particular friends in the manner they choſe themſelves) that he was in the knowledge of the murder. So full and direct is the proof of their guilt,

From all which, it is ſubmitted to the judgment of the reader, whether the concluſions in the two propoſitions, mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, do not naturally follow, viz.

That as it is proved, that the confederates, for taking away the king's life, were Morton, and Lethington, the very perſons who afterwards brought an accuſation againſt Queen Mary for that very crime; ſhe herſelf could not have been in that confederacy, nor guilty of that crime.

2. As, it is proved that Murray, Morton, and Lethington had been, from the Queen's coming to Scotland, joint confederates in a ſeries of plots, conſpiracies, and rebellions, againſt her and her huſband, until the very eve of the king's murder: as they had with one voice publicly accuſed the Queen of that very crime, of which, it is proved, that, at leaſt, Morton and Lethington were themſelves accomplices: and as in ſupport of their accuſation, this triumvirate had provided ſpurious and forged writings; and by all theſe means

means had dethroned their ſovereign, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the government: for theſe reaſons the confederates, Murray, Morton, and Lethington, muſt be held, one and all of them, as *ſocii criminis* guilty of the crime of which they had unjuſtly accuſed Queen Mary.

CHAP. II.

JAMES I.

* JAMES, the ſixth of Scotland, and the firſt of England, the ſon of Mary, came to the throne with the approbation of all orders of the ſtate, as in his perſon were united every claim, that either deſcent, bequeſt, or parliamentary ſanction could confer. He was taught, from his infancy, that his prerogative was uncontroulable. Theſe ſentiments he took no care to conceal; he publiſhed them in many parts of his works.

But he was greatly miſtaken in the ſpirit of the times; for new ideas of liberty, had for ſome time been ſtealing in; and only wanted the reign of a weak monarch, to appear without controul. In conſequence of an acquaintance with the governments of antiquity, the old Gothic forms began to be

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* A. D. 1603.

deſpiſed; and an emulation took place, to imitate the freedom of Greece and Rome. The ſevere government of Elizabeth, had confined this riſing ſpirit within very narrow bounds; but when a new ſovereign appeared, leſs dreaded, and leſs loved by the people, ſymptoms immediately began to be ſeen of a more free and independent genius in the nation.

James ſcarce was entered into England when he gave diſguſt to many. The deſire in all to ſee their new ſovereign was ardent and natural; but the king forbad the concourſe that attended on his journey from Scotland. Perhaps he was aſhamed of his ungracious figure and awkward addreſs: and in all probability he did not think himſelf ſafe, in the midſt of ſo many ſtrangers. To this offence to the people he added, ſoon after, what gave offence to the higher orders of the ſtate, by proſtituting titles of honour, ſo that they became ſo common as to be no longer marks of diſtinction.

But though his countrymen ſhared a part of theſe honours, yet juſtice muſt be done the king, by confeſſing, that he left almoſt all the great offices in the hands he found them. Cecil, in particular created earl of Saliſbury, was continued prime miniſter. But it was not ſo fortunate with lord Grey, lord Cobham, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been Cecil's aſſociates. They felt immediately the effects of the king's diſpleaſure, and were diſmiſſed their employments. Theſe three ſeemed to be marked out for peculiar indignation;

nation; for ſoon after they were accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the king; neither the proofs of which, nor its aims, have reached poſterity: all that is certain is, that they were condemned to die, but had their ſentence mitigated by the king. Cobham and Grey were pardoned, after they had laid their heads on the block. Raleigh was reprieved, but remained in confinement.

This mercy, ſhewn to theſe ſuppoſed delinquents, was very pleaſing to the people; and the king, willing to remove all jealouſy of his being a ſtranger, began his attempts in parliament by an endeavour to unite both kingdoms. But the people were not yet ripe for this; they were apprehenſive that the poſts, which were in the gift of the court, would be conferred on the Scotch, whom they were taught to regard as foreigners. By the repulſe in this inſtance, as well as by ſome exceptions, the houſe of commons took to the form of his ſummons to parliament, James found that the people he came to govern, were very different from thoſe he had left behind; and perceived that he muſt give reaſons for every meaſure he intended to inforce.

He now, therefore, began to peruſe the Engliſh laws, and by theſe he reſolved to govern. But even here he again found himſelf diſappointed. In a government ſo fluctuating as that of England, opinion was ever deviating from law; and what was enacted in one reign, was contradicted in another. The laws had all along declared in favour of an almoſt unlimited prerogative, while the

opinions of the people were guided by inſtructors, who began to teach oppoſite principles. All the kings and queens before him, except ſuch as were controuled by inteſtine diviſions, or awed by foreign invaſion, iſſued rather their commands to parliament, than gave their reaſons. James, unmindful of this alteration in the opinions of the people, reſolved to govern in the ancient manner; while the people, on the contrary, having once got an idea of liberty, never gave it up.

Numberleſs, therefore, were the diſputes between the king and his parliament during his whole reign; one attempting to keep the privileges of the crown entire, the other aiming at abridging them. When the parliament would not grant a ſubſidy, James had examples enough among his predeceſſors which taught him to extort a benevolence. Edward the fourth, Henry the eighth, and queen Elizabeth herſelf, had often done ſo; and precedent undoubtedly entitled him to the ſame privilege. On the other hand, the houſe of commons, who found their growing power, complained againſt it as an infringement of their privileges. Theſe attempts of the crown, and theſe murmurings of the commons, continued through this whole reign, and firſt gave riſe to that ſpirit of party, which has ever ſince ſubſiſted in England; the one for preſerving the ancient conſtitution, by maintaining the prerogative of the king; the other for trying an experiment to improve it, by extending the liberties of the people.

However

However, tho' James perſevered in aſſerting his prerogative, and threatened thoſe who ſhould preſume to abridge it, yet he gave toleration to the teachers of different religions throughout the kingdom. The minds of the people had long been irritated againſt one another, and each party perſecuted the reſt, as it happened to prevail; it was expected, therefore, that James would ſtrengthen the hands of that which was then uppermoſt, and that the catholics and ſectaries ſhould find no protection. But this monarch wiſely obſerved, that men ſhould be puniſhed for actions, and not for opinions; yet he was by no means true to this profeſſion. He pretended indeed to hold a conference at Hampton Court, between ſeveral biſhops on one ſide, and ſeventeen miniſters on the other. And he appeared in perſon there, not as a judge, but a furious partizan. He brow-beat and reviled the miniſters, and ſeverely threatened them, if they did not conform to the church diſcipline. Hereby he not only alienated all the puritans from him and his family, but obliged them for their own preſervation to unite with the political malecontents. And this junction formed a party ſtrong enough to ſhake the Engliſh monarchy in its foundations.

The next year there was a project contrived for the re-eſtabliſhment of popery, which, were it not a fact known to all the world, could ſcarcely be credited by poſterity. This was the gun-powder plot, than which a more horrid or terrible ſcheme never entered into the human heart to conceive.

The Roman catholics had expected great favour on the acceſſion of James, both as a deſcendant from Mary, a rigid catholic, and alſo as having ſhewn ſome partiality to that religion in his youth. But they ſoon diſcovered their miſtake; and were at once ſurpriſed and enraged to find James on all occaſions expreſs his reſolution of ſtrictly executing the laws enacted againſt them. This declaration determined them upon deſperate meaſures; and they at length formed a reſolution of deſtroying the king and parliament at a blow. * The ſcheme was firſt broached by Robert Cateſby, a gentleman of good parts and an ancient family, who conceived that a train of gunpowder might be ſo placed under the parliament-houſe, as to blow up the king and all the members at once. He opened his intention to Thomas Percy, a deſcendant from the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland, who was charmed with the project, and readily came into it. Thomas Winter was next intruſted with the dreadful ſecret; and he went over to Flanders in queſt of Guy Fawkes an officer in the Spaniſh ſervice, with whoſe zeal and courage they were thoroughly acquainted. When they inliſted any new zealot into their plot, the more firmly to bind him to ſecrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the ſacrament. Every tender feeling and all pity were baniſhed from their breaſts; and Teſmond and Garnet, two jeſuits, ſuperiors of the order, abſolved their conſciences from every ſcruple.

About

* A. D. 1599.

About two months before the ſitting of parliament, they hired an houſe in Percy's name, adjoining to that in which the parliament was to aſſemble. Their firſt intention was to bore a way under the parliament-houſe, from that which they occupied. And they ſet themſelves to the taſk; but when they had pierced the wall, which was three yards in thickneſs, on approaching the other ſide, they were ſurpriſed to find that the houſe was vaulted underneath, and that a magazine of coals were uſually depoſited there. And they were ſoon informed that the coals were ſelling off, and that the vaults would be then let to the higheſt bidder. They ſeized the opportunity of hiring the place, and bought the remaining quantity of coals as if for their own uſe. The next thing done was to convey thither thirty-ſix barrels of gun-powder, which had been purchaſed in Holland; and the whole was covered with the coals and with faggots brought for that purpoſe. Then the doors of the cellar were boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

They now began to plan the remaining part of their project. The king, the queen, and prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, were all expected to be preſent at the opening of the parliament. The king's ſecond ſon, by reaſon of his tender age, would be abſent, and it was reſolved that Percy ſhould ſeize or aſſaſſinate him. The princeſs Elizabeth, a child likewiſe, was kept at lord Harrington's houſe

houſe in Warwickſhire; and Sir Everard Digby was to ſeize her, and immediately proclaim her queen.

The day for the ſitting of parliament now approached. Never was ruin more apparently inevitable; the hour was expected with impatience, and the conſpirators gloried in their meditated guilt. The dreadful ſecret, though communicated to above twenty perſons, had been religiouſly kept during the ſpace of near a year and an half. But when all the motives of pity, juſtice, and ſafety were too weak, private friendſhip ſaved the kingdom.

Sir Henry Percy, one of the conſpirators, conceived a deſign of ſaving the life of lord Mounteagle, his intimate friend, who alſo was of the ſame perſuaſion with himſelf. About ten days before the meeting of parliament, this nobleman, upon his return to town, received a letter from a perſon unknown, and delivered by one who fled as ſoon as he had diſcharged his meſſage. The letter was this: "My Lord, ſtay away from this parliament; for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of the times. And think not ſlightly of this adviſement, but retire yourſelf into your country, where you may expect the event in ſafety. For though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet I ſay they will receive a terrible blow this parliament; and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm. For the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burned the letter."

The

The contents of this myſterious letter puzzled the nobleman to whom it was addreſſed; he judged it ſafeſt to carry it to lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. Lord Saliſbury too was inclined to give little attention to it, yet thought proper to lay it before the king in council. None of the council were able to make any thing of it, although it appeared ſerious and alarming. In this univerſal agitation, the king was the firſt who penetrated the meaning of this dark epiſtle. He concluded that ſome ſudden danger was preparing by gun-powder; and it was thought adviſeable to inſpect all the vaults below the houſes of parliament. This care belonged to the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purpoſely delayed the ſearch, till the day before the meeting of parliament. * He remarked thoſe great piles of faggots which lay in the vault under the houſe of peers; and he caſt his eye upon Fawkes, who ſtood in a dark corner, and who paſſed himſelf for Percy's ſervant. That daring courage, which he had long been noted for, was painted in his countenance, and ſtruck the lord chamberlain with ſtrong ſuſpicion. The great quantity of fuel alſo kept there for the uſe of a perſon ſeldom in town did not paſs unnoticed; and he reſolved to take his time to make a more exact ſcrutiny. About midnight, therefore, Sir Thomas Knevit, a juſtice of peace, was ſent with proper attendants, and juſt at the entrance of the vault, he ſeized a man preparing for the terrible enterprize, dreſſed in a cloak and boots, and a dark lanthorn in his hand

* Nov. 5. A. D. 1605.

hand. This was Guy Fawkes, who had juſt diſpoſed every part of the train for taking fire the next morning, the matches and other combuſtibles being found in his pockets. The whole of the deſign was now diſcovered; but he told the officers of juſtice with an undaunted air, that had he blown them and himſelf up together he had been happy. Before the council he diſplayed the ſame intrepid firmneſs, mixt even with ſcorn and diſdain, refuſing to diſcover his aſſociates, and ſhewing no concern but for the failure of his enterprize. But, being confined to the Tower for two or three days, and the rack juſt ſhewn him, his courage failed him, and he made a full diſcovery of all his accomplices.

Cateſby, Percy, and the conſpirators who were in London, hearing that Fawkes was arreſted, fled with all ſpeed to Warwickſhire, where Sir Everard Digby, relying on the ſucceſs of the plot, was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth. But the country ſoon began to take the alarm, and wherever they turned, they found a ſuperior force ready to oppoſe them. In this exigence, they reſolved, to about the number of eighty perſons, to fly no farther, but make a ſtand at an houſe in Warwickſhire, to defend it to the laſt, and ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. But even this miſerable conſolation was denied them: a ſpark of fire happening to fall among ſome gun-powder, it blew up, and ſo maimed the principal conſpirators, that the ſurvivors reſolved to open the gate, and ſally out againſt the multitude that ſurrounded

them. Some were inſtantly cut to pieces; Cateſby, Percy, and Winter, ſtanding back to back, fought long and deſperately, till in the end the two firſt fell covered with wounds, and Winter was taken alive. Thoſe that ſurvived the ſlaughter were tried and convicted; ſeveral fell by the hands of the executioner, and others experienced the king's mercy. The jeſuits, Garnet and Oldcorn, ſuffered with the reſt; and, notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of the treaſon, Garnet was conſidered by his party as a martyr, and miracles were ſaid to have been wrought by his blood.

The king's moderation, after the extinction of this conſpiracy, was great. The hatred excited in the nation againſt the catholics knew no bounds; and nothing but a total extinction of them, ſeemed capable of ſatisfying the greater part of the people. James bravely rejected all violent meaſures, and nobly declared, that the late conſpiracy, however atrocious, ſhould never alter his plans of government; but as, on the one hand, he was determined to puniſh guilt, ſo, on the other, he would ſtill ſupport and protect innocence. However, he ſtill found his parliaments refractory to all the meaſures he took to ſupport his authority at home, or his deſire of peace with foreign ſtates. Yet his liberality to his favourites, and the inſufficiency of his finances to maintain the royal dignity, ſtill rendered him dependent upon his parliament for money; and they took care to keep him in indigence. Thus he was often forced into conceſſions, which, when once granted, could never

never be recalled; and while he ſuppoſed himſelf maintaining the royal prerogative, it was diminiſhing on every ſide.

It was during this ſeſſion, that young Henry was created prince of Wales, in the ſixteenth year of his age. He was a youth of very promiſing talents and an amiable character. He ſpent his time in ſtudies becoming a prince. He had a fine perſon and addreſs; but died about three years after, univerſally lamented.

It was, perhaps, the oppoſition which James met with from his people, that made him place his affections upon different perſons about the court. * In the firſt rank of theſe ſtood Robert Carre, a youth of a good family in Scotland, who, after having paſſed ſome time in his travels, arrived in London, at about twenty years of age. All his natural accompliſhments conſiſted in a pleaſing viſage; all his acquired abilities, in an eaſy and graceful demeanor. This youth came to England with letters of recommendation to ſee his countryman, lord Hay; and that nobleman took an opportunity of aſſigning him the office of preſenting the king his buckler at a match of tilting. When Carre was advancing to execute his office, he was thrown by his horſe, and his leg was broke in the king's preſence. James approached him with pity and concern, and ordered him to be lodged in the palace till his cure was completed. He himſelf, after tilting, paid him a viſit in his chamber, and returned frequently during his confinement. Carre was

* A. D. 16 1

ſoon conſidered as a riſing man; he was knighted, created viſcount Rocheſter, honoured with the order of the garter, made a privy-councellor; and to raiſe him to the higheſt pitch of honour, he was at laſt created earl of Somerſet.

It was not long before the favourite gave proofs of his being unworthy of the king's affections. Among his friends was Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of great abilities and learning; among the miſtreſſes whom he addreſſed was the young counteſs of Eſſex, whoſe huſband had been ſent by the king's command to travel, until the young couple ſhould be arrived at the age of puberty. But the aſſiduities of a man of ſuch perſonal accompliſhments were too powerful to be reſiſted; a criminal correſpondence was commenced between the counteſs and the earl; and Eſſex, upon his return from his travels, found his wife beautiful indeed, but her affections entirely placed upon another. But this was not all; ſhe was reſolved to procure a divorce, and then to marry the favourite. It was upon this occaſion that Overbury was conſulted by his friend: this honeſt councellor declared himſelf utterly averſe to the match. This advice was fatal to the giver. The counteſs, being made acquainted with it urged her lover to undo him. In conſequence of this, the king was perſuaded by him to order Overbury on an embaſſy into Ruſſia; Overbury was perſuaded by the ſame adviſer to refuſe going; the delinquent was ſhut up in the Tower, and there he was poiſoned, by the direction of the counteſs, in a tart.

In the mean time, the divorce took place, and the marriage was ſolemnized with all imaginable ſplendour. But the ſuſpicion of Overbury's being poiſoned every day grew ſtronger, and reached the favourite, amidſt all the glare of ſeeming happineſs. The graces of his youth gradually diſappeared; his gaiety was converted into ſullen ſilence; and the king, whoſe affections had been engaged by theſe ſuperficial accompliſhments, began to cool to a man who no longer contributed to his amuſement. The adoption of another favourite, and the diſcovery of Somerſet's guilt, ſoon removed all the remains of his affection.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poiſon, had divulged the ſecret; and the affair being laid before the king, he commanded Sir Edward Coke, lord chief juſtice to ſift the affair to the bottom. This injunction was executed with great induſtry; and the whole complication of their guilt was unravelled. The lieutenant of the Tower, with ſome of the leſſer criminals, were condemned and executed; Somerſet and his counteſs were ſoon after found guilty, but reprieved, and pardoned after ſome years of ſtrict confinement. The king's duplicity and injuſtice on this occaſion are great ſtains upon his character. Somerſet was in his preſence when the officer of juſtice came to apprehend him; and boldly reprehended his preſumption for daring to arreſt a peer of the realm before the king. But James ſaid, with a ſmile, "Nay, nay, "you muſt go, for if Coke ſhould ſend for "myſelf, I muſt comply." He then embraced

braced him at parting, begged he would return immediately, and aſſured him he could not live without his company: yet he had no ſooner turned his back, than he exclaimed, "Go, and the devil go with thee, I "ſhall never ſee thy face again." He alſo wiſhed that God's curſe might fall upon him and his family, if he pardoned thoſe whom the law condemned; yet he afterwards reſtored them both to liberty, and granted them a penſion, with which they retired, and languiſhed out the remainder of their lives in guilt, infamy, and mutual recrimination.

In February 1613, the Elector Palatine married the princeſs Elizabeth, king James' daughter, and grandmother to the late princeſs Sophia.

The king had not long parted with one favourite before he provided himſelf with another. This was George Villiers, a youth of one and twenty, a younger brother of a good family, who was returned about that time from his travels, and whom the enemies of Somerſet threw in the king's way, certain that his beauty and faſhionable manners would do the reſt. Accordingly, he had been placed at a comedy full in the king's view, and immediately caught the monarch's affections.

* After Somerſet's fall, the favour of James was wholly turned upon young Villiers; in the courſe of a few years he created him viſcount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, maſter of the horſe, chief juſtice in Eyre, warden of the cinque ports, maſter of the king's bench

* A. D. 1615.

office, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham; his brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous train of needy relations were all pushed up into credit and authority.

When unworthy favourites were thus advanced, it is not to be wondered at, if the public concerns of the kingdom were neglected, and men of real merit left to misery. Such was the case at present with regard to the cautionary towns in Holland, and the brave Sir Walter Raleigh at home.

In the preceding reign, Elizabeth, when she gave assistance to the Dutch, at that time shaking off the Spanish yoke, upon her lending them large sums of money, required a proper deposit for being repaid. The Dutch, therefore, put into her hands the three important fortresses of Flushing, Brille, and and Ramekins, to be restored upon payment of the money due, which amounted to above eight hundred thousand pounds. But James, to supply a craving court, agreed to evacuate these fortresses, upon being paid a third part of the money. * The cautionary towns, therefore, were evacuated, which had held the states in total subjection, and which an an ambitious or enterprizing prince would have regarded as his most valuable possessions.

The universal murmur which this measure produced, was soon heightened by an act of severity, which still continues as the blackest stain upon this monarch's memory. The brave and learned Raleigh had been confined in

* A. D. 1616.

in the Tower many years, for a conſpiracy which was never proved or underſtood; and in that abode he wrote ſeveral valuable performances, which are ſtill in the higheſt eſteem. His long ſufferings, and his ingenious writings, had now turned the tide of popular opinion in his favour; and they who once deteſted the enemy of Eſſex could not help pitying the long captivity of this philoſophical ſoldier. He ſtill ſtruggled for freedom; and perhaps it was with this deſire that he ſpread the report of a gold mine in Guiana, which was ſufficient to enrich, not only the adventurers who ſhould ſeize it, but the nation. The king granted him a commiſſion to try his fortune in queſt of theſe golden ſchemes. Raleigh was not long in making preparations. He bent his courſe to Guiana, and remaining himſelf at the mouth of the river Oronooko, with five of the largeſt ſhips, he ſent the reſt up the ſtream, under the command of his ſon and of captain Keymis, a perſon entirely devoted to his intereſts. But inſtead of a country abounding in gold, they found the Spaniards prepared in arms to receive them. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men called out, "This is the true mine," meaning the town of St. Thomas, which he was approaching; "none but fools look for any other:" but juſt as he was ſpeaking, he received a ſhot, of which he immediately expired. This was followed by another diſappointment; when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the town they found nothing in it of any value.

It was Keymis who pretended that he had ſeen the mine, and gave the firſt account of it to Raleigh; but he now began to retract, and though he was within two hours march of the place, he refuſed to go a ſtep farther. He returned to Raleigh with the melancholy news of his ſon's death; and then going into his cabbin, put an end to his own life.

Raleigh, found now that all his hopes were over. Nothing could be more deplorable than his ſituation, particularly when he was told that he muſt be carried back to England to anſwer for his conduct to the king. He was accordingly brought home, and delivered into the king's hands, § and ſtrictly examined, as well as his fellow adventurers, before the privy-council. Count Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, made heavy complaints againſt the expedition; and the king declared that Raleigh had orders to avoid all hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. Wherefore, to give the court of Spain a particular inſtance of his attachment, he ſigned the warrant for his execution, not for the preſent offence, but for his former conſpiracy. Thus ſhewing himſelf guilty of complicated injuſtice; unjuſt in having before condemned him without proof; unjuſt in having truſted a man with a commiſſion without a pardon, unjuſt in puniſhing with death a tranſgreſſion that did not deſerve it; but moſt unjuſt of all, when he refuſed a new trial, and condemned him upon an obſolete ſentence. This great man died with the ſame fortitude that he had teſtified through life; he obſerved, as he felt the

§ A. D. 1618.

the edge of the ax, that it was a ſharp, but a ſure remedy for all evils; his ſpeech to the people was calm and eloquent; and he laid his head down on the block with the utmoſt indifference. His death enſured him that popularity, which his former intrepidity and ſufferings, had tended to procure; and no meaſure, in this reign, was attended with more public diſſatisfaction. The death of this great man was ſoon after followed by the diſgrace of the chancellor Bacon, who was accuſed of receiving bribes in his office; and, pleading guilty, was degraded and fined thirty thouſand pounds; but his fine was afterwards remitted by the king.

But there ſoon appeared plain reaſons for James's partiality to the court of Spain. This monarch had entertained an opinion peculiar to himſelf, that in marrying his ſon Charles, the prince of Wales, any alliance below that of royalty would be unworthy of him; he, therefore, was obliged to ſeek, either in the court of France or Spain, a ſuitable match, and he was taught to think of the latter. Gondemar, made an offer of the ſecond daughter of Spain to prince Charles; and that he might render the temptation irreſiſtible, he gave hopes of an immenſe fortune with the princeſs. However this negotiation was not likely to be ſoon concluded; and from the time the idea was firſt ſtarted, James ſaw five years elapſed without bringing the treaty to any concluſion.

‖ A delay of this kind was very diſpleaſing to the king, who had all along an eye on the great

‖ A. D. 1623.

great fortune of the princeſs; nor was it leſs diſagreeable to prince Charles, who, bred up with ideas of romantic paſſion, was in love without ever ſeeing the object of his affections. During this delay, a project entered the head of Villiers, fitter for the knight of a romance, than a miniſter and ſtateſman. It was nothing leſs, than that the prince ſhould himſelf travel in diſguiſe into Spain, and viſit the object of his affections. Buckingham, offered to be his companion; and the king, whoſe buſineſs it was to check ſo wild a ſcheme, gave his conſent to this hopeful propoſal. Their adventures on this ſtrange project might fill novels. Charles was the knight-errant, and Buckingham was his 'ſquire. They travelled through France in diſguiſe, aſſuming the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They went to a ball at Paris, where the prince firſt ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, who was then in the bloom of youth and beauty. They were received at the court of Spain with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect; but Buckingham filled the whole city with intrigues, adventures, ſerenades, challenges, and jealouſy. To complete the catalogue of his follies, he fell in love with the dutcheſs of Olivarez, the prime miniſter's wife, and inſulted that miniſter in perſon. Theſe levities were not to be endured at ſuch a court as that of Spain, where decorum is ſo much obſerved. It was no wonder therefore the match broke off; though for what reaſon hiſtorians do not aſſign; perhaps becauſe the prince had fixed his affections upon the French princeſs.

In

In fact, a match for this prince was ſoon after negociated with Henrietta, who was the daughter of the great Henry the fourth; and this met with better ſucceſs than the former. The portion indeed was much ſmaller; but willing that his ſon ſhould not be altogether diſappointed of a bride, as the king of France demanded only the ſame terms which had been offered to the court of Spain, James conſented. It was ſtipulated, that the education of the children, till the age of thirteen, ſhould belong to the mother; and this probably gave that turn towards popery, which has ſince been the ruin of that unfortunate family.

Indeed a variety of cauſes conſpired to bring upon them thoſe evils which they afterwards experienced. The houſe of commons was by this time become quite unmanageable; the prodigality of James to his favourites, had made his neceſſities ſo many, that he was contented to ſell the different branches of his prerogative to the commons, one after the other, to procure ſupplies. In proportion as they perceived his wants, they found out new grievances; and every grant of money was ſure to come with a petition for redreſs. The ſtruggles between him and his parliament had been growing more and more violent every ſeſſion; and the very laſt advanced their pretenſions to ſuch a degree, that he began to take the alarm; but the evils to which his weakneſs had given birth, fell upon his ſucceſſor.

Theſe

These domestic troubles were attended by others still more important in Germany. The king's eldest daughter had been married to Frederic, the elector Palatine, who revolting against the emperor Ferdinand the second, was defeated in a decisive battle, and obliged to take refuge in Holland. His affinity to the English crown, his misfortunes, but particularly the protestant religion, for which he had contended, were strong motives for the people of England to wish well to his cause; and frequent addresses were sent from the commons to spur up James to replace him upon the throne of his ancestors. ‡ James at first attempted to effect it by negotiations; but these proving utterly ineffectual, it was resolved at last to rescue the Palatine from the emperor by force of arms. Accordingly war was declared against Spain and the emperor; six thousand men were sent over into Holland, to assist prince Maurice in his schemes against those powers; the people were every where elated at the courage of their king, and were satisfied with any war against the papists. This army was followed by another consisting of twelve thousand men, commanded by count Mansfeldt, and the court of France promised its assistance. But the English were disappointed in all their views: the troops being embarked at Dover, upon sailing to Calais, found no orders for their admission. After waiting in vain for some time, they were obliged to sail toward Zealand, where no proper measures were consulted for their disembarkation. Mean while

‡ A. D. 1620.

while, a peſtilential diſtemper crept in among them; half the army died while on board, and the other half, weakened by ſickneſs, appeared too ſmall a body to march into the Palatinate: thus ended this ill-concerted expedition.

§ Soon after this, the Hollanders diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their ſettlement at Amboyna in the Eaſt Indies, and cauſed ten of them to be executed in the moſt barbarous and ignominious manner.

* The king was now ſeized with a tertian ague, which, when his courtiers aſſured him, it was "health for a king," he replied, the proverb meant "for a young king." After ſome fits he found himſelf extremely weak, and ſent for the prince, whom he exhorted to perſevere in the proteſtant religion; then preparing to meet his end, he expired, after a reign over England of twenty-two years, and in the ſixtieth year of his age. With regard to foreign negotiations, James neither underſtood nor cultivated them; and perhaps in a kingdom ſo ſituated as England, domeſtic politics are alone ſufficient. His reign was marked with none of the ſplendors of triumph, nor any new conqueſts or acquiſitions; but the arts were nevertheleſs ſilently and ſucceſsfully going on to improvement.

James, the ſixth of Scotland, and firſt of England, may truly be ſaid to have poſſeſſed power without dignity, learning without utility, craft without wiſdom, and religion without morality. His failings were moſtly owing

§ A. D. 1624. * A. D. 1625.

owing to his being too early initiated in the intrigues of parties, who vied with each other to give him wrong notions of government, and to inspire him with a thorough hatred of all liberty, either civil or religious. Had he behaved upon his throne, and towards his subjects, as a plain, country gentleman would have acted towards his tenants upon his private estate, without launching into the subtilties of controversy, or pretending to explore the depth of politics, he would have made a great figure on the theatre of the world. Before his accession to the throne of England, he discovered great talents for government, notwithstanding the weak, suspected part of his conduct. Modern writers have greatly exaggerated some of his failings. His pacific notions, though he carried them too far, were of infinite benefit to his dominions; and posterity has been ungrateful to his memory in not observing that he chalked out, and in many respects filled up, the great outlines of commerce, which have raised England to her present pitch of glory and greatness.

James in his domestic and personal character, was, perhaps, the most unamiable man in his dominions. His coarseness and vulgarity could not be credited, had we not so many instances of it under his own hand, and those of his favourites. It was not enough that he himself was guilty of those shocking familiarities; for he instructed his queen and companions in the same fulsome practices; so that nothing could be more indelicate than their conversation and behaviour.

James

" James was of a middling ſtature, (ſays a writer, who knew him well, having long ſerved him in a domeſtic capacity) more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and eaſy, the doublets quilted for ſtilet-to proof; his breeches in great plaits, and full ſtuffed. He was naturally of a timorous diſpoſition, which was the greateſt reaſon of his quilted doublets. His eyes large, ever rolling after any ſtranger that came in his preſence, inſomuch as many for ſhame have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin: his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him ſpeak full in the mouth, and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup, on each ſide of his mouth. His ſkin was as ſoft as taffata ſarſenèt, which felt ſo, becauſe he never waſhed his hands, only rubbed his fingers ends with the wet end of a napkin ſlightly. His legs were very weak, having had (as was thought) ſome hurt in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to ſtand at ſeven years of age. That weakneſs made him always lean on other mens ſhoulders. His walk was ever circular.

The ſame author obſerves, he was ſo conſtant in his apparel, that he never, by his good will, would change his cloaths till almoſt worn to rags. He was ſo regular as to his diet and his habits, either in diverſion or buſineſs, that an obſerving courtier uſed to ſay, " Were he aſleep ſeven years, and

" then awakened, he would tell where the
" king every day had been, and every dish
" he had on his table."

He would rather part with an hundred pounds that was not in his own poſſeſſion, than with twenty ſhillings which he had in his pocket. His paſſion hurried him often into indecent ſwearing, and ſometimes into blaſphemy. He affected the reputation of being crafty and cunning ſo much, that one of his courtiers wittily ſaid, " he believed him to be the wiſeſt fool in Chriſtendom."

CHAP. III.

CHARLES I.

* FEW princes have aſcended a throne with more apparent advantages than Charles; and none ever encountered more real difficulties. The advantages were ſuch as might flatter even the moſt cautious prince into ſecurity; the difficulties were ſuch as no abilities could ſurmount. He found himſelf, upon coming to the crown, poſſeſſed of a peaceful and flouriſhing kingdom; his right undiſputed by all the world, his power ſtrengthened by an alliance with one of the moſt potent nations in Europe. To add to all this, he was

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* A. D. 1625.

loved by his people, whose hearts he had gained by his virtues, his humility, and his candour.

But on the opposite side of the picture we are presented with a very different scene. The spirit of liberty (or rather licentiousness) was roused; and it was resolved to oppose the ancient claims of monarchs. And Charles had been taught from his infancy to consider the royal prerogative as a sacred pledge, which it was not in his power to alienate.

He undertook the reins of government with a fixed persuasion that his popularity was sufficient to carry every measure. He had been loaded with a treaty for defending the Palatinate in the late reign; and the war declared for that purpose was to be carried on with vigour in this. But war was more easily declared than supplies granted. After some reluctance the commons voted him two subsidies; a sum far from being sufficient: and to this was added a petition for punishing papists, and redressing the grievances of the nation. Buckingham, who had been the late king's favourite, and who was caressed by the present, did not escape their censures; so that instead of granting the sums requisite, they employed the time in complaints, till the season for the campaign was elapsed. Charles, wearied with their delays, and offended at their refusal, dissolved a parliament which he could not bring to reason.

To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles had recourse to some of the ancient methods. That kind of tax called a benevo-

lence was ordered to be exacted. In order to cover the rigour of this ſtep, it was commanded, that none ſhould be aſked for money but ſuch as were able to ſpare it; and he directed letters to different perſons, mentioning the ſums he deſired. With this the people, though reluctantly, complied; as it was in fact authoriſed by many precedents.

With this money a fleet was equipped againſt Spain, carrying ten thouſand men, the command of which army was entruſted to lord Wimbleton, who ſailed directly to Cadiz, and found the bay full of ſhips of great value. But he failed in making himſelf maſter of the harbour, while his undiſciplined army landing, inſtead of attacking the town, could not be reſtrained from indulging themſelves in the wine, which they found in great abundance. Further ſtay, appearing fruitleſs, they re-imbarked; and the plague attacking them ſoon after, they were obliged to abandon all hopes of ſucceſs, and return to England. Loud complaints were made againſt the court, for intruſting the command to a perſon unqualified for the undertaking.

This ineffectual expedition was a great blow to the court; to retrieve the glory of the nation, another attempt was to be made. New ſupplies therefore being requiſite, the king was reſolved to obtain them in a more regular and conſtitutional manner. Another parliament was accordingly called; but this was more refractory than the former. † When the king laid before the houſe his neceſſities, they voted him only three ſubſidies, which amounted

† A. D. 1626.

mounted to about an hundred and ſixty thou-
and pounds; a ſum no way adequate to his
need. And even this was not to be granted,
until the grievances were redreſſed. Their
chief indignation was levelled againſt Buck-
ngham, whom the commons impeached in
he lower houſe, while the earl of Briſtol,
who had returned from his embaſſy in Spain,
accuſed him among his peers. The charge
againſt him was, that he had engroſſed too
much power; that he had neglected to guard
he ſeas with the fleet; and that he had ap-
plied a plaiſter to the late king's ſide, which
was ſuppoſed to haſten his end. Theſe fri-
volous accuſations muſt have ſunk of them-
ſelves, had they not been intemperately op-
poſed by the royal authority. The king gave
orders to the lord-keeper to command the
commons expreſſly not to meddle with his
ſervant Buckingham. The more to enrage
hem, he had him elected chancellor of the
univerſity of Cambridge, and wrote that body
a letter of thanks for their compliance. He
aſſured the commons, that if they would not
comply with his demands, he would try *new*
counſels. But what enraged them beyond all
ſufferance was, when two of their members,
Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot, com-
plained of this partiality in favour of a man
odious to the nation, the king ordered them
to be committed to priſon for ſeditious beha-
viour.

It was now that the commons juſtly ex-
claimed, their privileges were infringed, and
freedom of debate deſtroyed. They proteſted,

that neither of their members had ſaid any thing diſreſpectful of the king. The king, whoſe character it was to undertake harſh meaſures, but not to ſupport them, releaſed the two members; and this compliance confirmed that obſtinacy in the houſe, which his injuries had given riſe to. The earl of Arundel, for being guilty of the ſame offence in the houſe of lords, was raſhly impriſoned, and as tamely diſmiſſed by the king. Thus the two houſes having refuſed to anſwer the intentions of the court, the king, rather than give up his favourite, choſe to be without the ſupply, and therefore once more diſſolved the parliament.

The new counſels which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were now to be tried, in order to ſupply his neceſſities. Inſtead of making peace with Spain, and thus abridging his expences, ſince he could not enlarge his income, he reſolved to carry on the war, and to keep up a ſtanding army for this purpoſe. In order to gain time and money, a commiſſion was openly granted to compound with the catholics, and agree for a diſpenſation of the penal laws againſt them. He borrowed a ſum of money from the nobility, whoſe contributions came in but ſlowly. But the greateſt ſtretch of his power was in the levying of *ſhip-money*. In order to equip a fleet each of the maritime towns was required, with the aſſiſtance of the adjacent counties, to arm as many veſſels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This was the commencement

mencement of a tax, which afterwards, created such great discontents in the nation. But the extortions of the ministry did not rest here. Persons of birth and rank, who refused the loan, were summoned before the council; and, upon persisting in a refusal, were put into confinement. Thus we see here, as in every civil war, something to blame on one side and the other: both sides guilty of injustice, yet in general actuated by motives of virtue. The one at first contended for the legal liberties of the people, the other for the legal privileges of the crown; but both afterwards permitted their actions to degenerate from the motives which first set them in motion.

Hitherto the will of the monarch was reluctantly obeyed; most of those who refused to lend their money, were thrown into prison, and patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king for their release. Five persons alone undertook to defend the cause of the public; and, at the hazard of their whole fortunes, were resolved to try whether the king had a legal right to confine them without their having infringed any law. The names of these were Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Haveningham, and Sir Edward Hambden. Their cause was brought to a solemn trial before the King's Bench, and the whole kingdom was attentive to the result of it.

By the debates on this subject it appeared, that personal liberty had been secured by no

less

leſs than ſix different ſtatutes, and by an article of the Great Charter itſelf: that in caſes of neceſſity, the princes had infringed thoſe laws; and of this alſo many examples were produced. The difficulty was to determine what were caſes of neceſſity; and of that, the court pretended to be the ſupreme judge.

The king being thus embroiled with his parliament, and ſome of the moſt powerful foreign ſtates, it was not without amazement that all men ſaw him enter into a war with France, a kingdom with which he had but lately formed the moſt natural alliance. This monarch, among the foibles of a good diſpoſition, relied too much on the ſincerity of his ſervants; and, among others, permitted Buckingham to lead him as he thought proper. Accordingly war was declared againſt France; and Charles was taught to hope, that hoſtilities with that kingdom would be the ſureſt means of producing unanimity at home.

But providence counteracted all his attempts. † A fleet was ſent out, under the command of Buckingham, to relieve Rochelle, a maritime town in France, that had long enjoyed its privileges independent of the French king; but that had for ſome years embraced the reformed religion, and now was beſieged with a formidable army. This expedition was as unfortunate as that of the coaſts of Spain. The inhabitants of the city ſhut their gates, and refuſed to admit allies, of whoſe coming they were not previouſly informed. Inſtead of attacking the iſland of Oleron,

† A. D. 1627.

Oleron, which was fertile and defenceleſs, he ent his courſe to the Iſle of Rhé, which was ell fortified. He attempted there to ſtarve ut the garriſon of St. Martin's caſtle, which as copiouſly ſupplied with proviſions by ſea. y that time the French had landed their orces privately at another part of the iſland; o that Buckingham was at laſt obliged to re-reat, but with ſuch precipitation, that two hirds of his army were cut in pieces before e could re-imbark, though he was the laſt an of the whole army that quitted the ſhore. This proof of his perſonal courage, however, as but a ſmall ſubject of conſolation for the iſgrace which his country had ſuſtained.

* The bad ſucceſs of this expedition ſerved o render the duke ſtill more obnoxious, and he king more needy. He therefore reſolved o call a third parliament; for money was to e had at any rate. In his firſt ſpeech he old them they were convoked on purpoſe to rant ſupplies; and that if they ſhould neg-ect to contribute what was neceſſary for the upport of the ſtate, he would, in diſcharge of is conſcience, uſe thoſe means that God had ut into his hands, for ſaving that, which the olly of certain perſons would otherwiſe en-anger. But the commons were not intimi-ated by his threats. They boldly inveighed gainſt his late arbitrary meaſures, forced oans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of arliament, arbitrary impriſonments, bilet-ing ſoldiers, martial laws; theſe were the rievances complained of, and againſt theſe ey inſiſted that a remedy ſhould be provided.

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* A. D. 1628.

An immunity from these vexations they alledged to be the inherent right of the subject; and their new demands they resolved to call a petition of right. Nothing could be more just than the enacting the contents of this petition of right into a law. The Great Charter, and the old statutes, were sufficiently clear in favour of liberty; but as all the kings of England had ever, in cases of necessity eluded them; and as Charles had lately violated them in many instances, it was but requisite to enact a new law, which might not be eluded.

This was an equitable proposal, and the ready compliance with it might have prevented many disorders. But Charles considered it as the most violent incroachment on his prerogative. Yet when he found nothing but his assent would satisfy the house, he came to the house of peers, and pronounced the usual form of words, "Soit come il est "desire; let it be as it is desired." The acclamations with which the house resounded sufficiently testified the joy of the people; and a bill for five subsidies, which passed soon after, was the strongest mark of their gratitude. But the Commons finding their perseverance crowned with success in this instance, were resolved to carry their scrutiny into every part of government. A little before the meeting of this parliament, a commission had been granted to thirty-three of the principal officers of state, empowering them to meet, and concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions, or otherwise. The

commons

ommons applied for cancelling that commiſ-
ion. They objected alſo to another commiſ-
ion for raiſing money for the introduction of
thouſand German horſe, which they feared
night be turned againſt the liberties of the
eople. They reſumed alſo their cenſure of
Buckingham, whom they reſolved implacably
o purſue. They alſo openly aſſerted, that a
nethod of levying money uſed by the king
alled tonnage and poundage, without the
onſent of parliament, was a violation of the
iberties of the people. All theſe grievances
ere preparing to be drawn up in a remon-
trance, when the king came ſuddenly to the
ouſe, and ended the ſeſſion by a prorogation.

* But they urged their claims with ſtill
nore force on their next ſitting; and the
uty of tonnage and poundage was diſcuſſed
nore largely. This tax upon merchandiſe
as a duty of very early inſtitution, and had
een conferred on Henry the fifth, and all
ucceeding princes during life, in order to
nable them to maintain a naval force for the
rotection of the kingdom. But the parlia-
ent had uſually granted it as of favour in
he beginning of each reign; except to Hen-
y the eighth, who had it not conferred on
im by parliament till the ſixth year of his
tting on the throne. Although he had con-
inued to receive it from the beginning, yet
e thought it neceſſary to have the ſanction of
arliament to inſure it to him, which certain-
y implied that it was not an inherent privi-
ge of the crown. Upon this argument, the
ommons founded their objections to the
levying

* A. D. 1629.

levying it in the preſent reign; it was a tax they had not yet granted, and it had been granted by them in every preceding reign. They refuſed, therefore, to grant it now: and inſiſted the king could not levy it without their permiſſion.

This bred a long conteſt between the commons and the crown. The officers of the cuſtom-houſe were ſummoned before the commons to give an account by what authority they ſeized the goods of the merchants who had refuſed to pay theſe duties, The barons of the exchequer were queſtioned concerning their decrees on that head; the ſheriff of London was committed to the Tower for ſupporting the cuſtom-houſe officers. Theſe were bold meaſures; but the commons went ſtill farther, by a reſolution to examine into religious grievances. They paſſed ſeveral votes in defence of Calviniſm and againſt Arminianiſm. The king, therefore, reſolved to diſſolve a parliament, which he found himſelf unable to manage; and Sir John Finch, the ſpeaker, juſt as the queſtion concerning tonnage and poundage was going to be put, roſe up, and informed the houſe that he had a command from the king to adjourn.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the commons upon this information. Juſt at a time they were carrying their favourite points to be thus adjourned, rendered them furious. The houſe was in an uproar; the ſpeaker was puſhed back into his chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a ſhort remonſtrance was framed, and paſſed

paſſed by acclamation rather than vote. In this haſty production, Papiſts and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the ſtate. Tonnage and poundage was condemned as contrary to law; and not only thoſe who raiſed that duty, but thoſe who paid it, were conſidered as guilty of capital crimes.

In conſequence of this violent procedure, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, and Strode, were, by the king's order, committed to priſon. But the ſame temerity that impelled Charles to imprifon them induced him to grant them a releaſe. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine were ſummoned before the King's Bench; but refuſing to appear before an inferior tribunal, for faults committed in a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to pay a fine, the two former of a thouſand pounds each, and the latter of five hundred, and to find ſureties for their good behaviour. They triumphed in their ſufferings, while they had moſt of the kingdom as applauders of their fortitude.

Some time before this, the king felt a ſeverer blow in the death of his favourite the duke of Buckingham. It had been reſolved once more to undertake the raiſing of the ſiege of Rochelle; and the earl of Lindſey, was ſent thither, but returned without effecting any thing. In order to repair this diſgrace, the duke of Buckingham went in perſon to Portſmouth to hurry on another expedition. There was one Felton, an Iriſhman of a good family, who had ſerved under the duke as

lieutenant, but had reſigned, on being refuſed his rank on the death of his captain. This man was naturally melancholy, and enthuſiaſtic; he ſuppoſed his country was labouring under a calamity which he thought it in the power of his ſingle arm to remove. He therefore reſolved to kill the duke, and thus revenge his own private injuries, while he did ſervice alſo to God and man. Animated with this miſtaken patriotiſm he travelled down to Portſmouth alone, and entered the town while the duke was ſurrounded by his levee, and giving out the neceſſary orders for embarkation. He was at that time engaged in converſation with one Soubize, and other French gentlemen. The converſation being finiſhed the duke drew towards the door; and while he was ſpeaking to one of his colonels, Felton ſtruck him over that officer's ſhoulder into the breaſt with his knife, and left it ſticking there. The duke had only time to ſay "The villain has killed me," when he fell at the colonel's feet, and inſtantly expired. No one had ſeen the blow, nor the perſon who gave it; but in the confuſion it was generally ſuppoſed that he was murdered by one of the Frenchmen. They were accordingly ſecured; but in the mean time an hat was picked up, on the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, containing four or five lines of the remonſtrance of the commons againſt the duke; and under theſe lines a ſhort ejaculation, deſiring aid in the attempt. It was now concluded that this hat muſt belong to the aſſaſſin; and while they were employed in

conjecture

onjectures whoſe it ſhould be, a man with-
ut an hat was ſeen walking very compoſedly
efore the door, and was heard to cry out,
' I am he." He diſdained denying a murder
n which he gloried; and averred, that he
ooked upon the duke as an enemy to his
ountry. When aſked at whoſe inſtigation
e had performed that horrid deed; he an-
wered, that his conſcience was his only
rompter, and that no man on earth could
iſpoſe him to act againſt its dictates. But
e afterwards relented, and died with all poſſi-
le tokens of remorſe and ſelf-condemnation.

The king was extremely mortified at the
uke's death; he perceived the tide of popu-
arity was turned from him, and that the
ouſe of commons only ſerved to increaſe the
eneral diſcontent. He felt therefore a diſ-
uſt againſt parliaments; and was reſolved
ot to call any more till he ſhould ſee greater
ndications of a compliant diſpoſition in the
ation. Having loſt his favourite, he became
ore his own miniſter, and never repoſed
uch unlimited confidence in any other. But
hough the miniſter was changed, the mea-
ures continued the ſame; the ſame temerity,
nd the ſame weakneſs of condeſcenſion.

His firſt meaſure, however, being left with-
ut a miniſter and a parliament, was a prudent
ne. * He made peace with the two crowns,
gainſt whom he had hitherto waged war.
eing freed from theſe embarraſſments, he
ent his whole attention to the management
f the internal policy of the kingdom, and
ook as his aſſociates, Sir Thomas Wentworth,

* A. D. 1629.

afterwards earl of Strafford; and Laud, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury. But it ſhould be obſerved, the earl did not wholly concur with the king, till two or three years after this. By his eminent talents and abilities, he merited all the confidence which the king repoſed in him. His character was ſtately and auſtere; more fitted to procure eſteem than love; he was a man of ſtrict honour and religion; his fidelity to the king was unſhaken; but perhaps in ſerving the intereſts of the crown, he did not always ſufficiently conſider himſelf as an agent alſo for the benefit of the people. He now employed all his counſels to ſupport the prerogative, which he formerly had endeavoured to diminiſh. But his unblameable character in private life made up for ſome blemiſhes in his public conduct.

Laud was in the church ſomewhat reſembling Strafford in the ſtate, rigid, ſevere, punctual, and induſtrious. His zeal was unrelenting in the cauſe of religion, and the forms eſtabliſhed in the reign of queen Elizabeth ſeemed to him to be eſſentially connected with it. His deſire to keep theſe on their former footing was imprudent and exceſſive: but it muſt be confeſſed, the furious oppoſition he met with was ſufficient to excite his reſentment.

Since the times of Elizabeth, a ſet of people had been gaining ground in England; who, from the ſuppoſed greater purity of their manners, were called *Puritans*. Many of them being men of warm, obſtinate tempers, puſhed their ſentiments into a total oppoſition to thoſe

thoſe of Rome, and to every rite or ceremony which they imagined to have the leaſt reſemblance to the Romiſh. Hence Laud, who of all men alive, was the moſt attached to ceremony and ſhew, treated them with rigour. And the king ſhewed the utmoſt ardour, to ſupport the ceremonies of the church, which they oppoſed. Theſe at this day are regarded with more unconcern; and, therefore, we are apt to impute the diſorders of thoſe times, rather to civil motives of eſtabliſhing liberty, which, in reality, made but a ſubordinate conſideration.

The humour of the nation ran, at that time, into the extreme, oppoſite to ſuperſtition; and thoſe ceremonies, to which men had been accuſtomed in England, ever ſince the Reformation, were conſidered as idolatrous. It was, therefore, the moſt impolitic time in the world for Laud to think of introducing new ceremonies. Nevertheleſs he went on boldly with his injunctions for the obſervance of thoſe rites, which, in themſelves, were of no moment; and needed neither to have been urged by him, nor oppoſed by the puritans.

* Orders were rigorouſly inſiſted on, that the communion table ſhould be removed from the middle of the church, where it hitherto ſtood ſince the Reformation, to the Eaſt end; where it ſhould be railed in, and denominated the altar. The kneeling at the altar, and the uſing of copes, an embroidered veſtment uſed in popiſh countries, were introduced to the great diſcontent of the people. Some pictures were admitted again into churches. All ſuch

* A. D. 1630.

clergy as neglected to observe every ceremony, were suspended or deprived. And, to mortify the puritans still more, orders were issued from the council, forbidding any controversy either from the pulpit or the press, on the points in dispute between them and their opponents, concerning free will and predestination.

In the year 1632, the king issued out a proclamation, commanding all lords and gentlemen, to depart from London, and go and live upon their own estates: And another, against building in or near London, upon new foundations. Tonnage and poundage were now levied by royal authority alone; custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter any house whatever, in search of suspected goods: compositions were openly made with papists; and these were become a regular part of the revenue. The high commission court of Star-chamber exercised its power, independent of any law, upon several bold innovators in liberty, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Sir David Foulis was fined by this court five thousand pounds, merely for dissuading a friend from compounding with the commissioners, who called upon him to take up the title of knighthood. * Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which was entitled "Histriomastix, or a Scourge for the Stage." In this, beside much paltry declamation against the stage, he took occasion to blame the ceremonies and late innovations of the church. He

* A. D. 1634.

He was condemned by the Star-chamber to be degraded from the bar; to ſtand in the pillory, in two places, Weſtminſter and Cheapſide; to loſe his ears, one at each place; to pay five thouſand pounds to the king, and to be impriſoned during life. This ſentence, was rigorouſly executed; and Prynne gloried in his ſufferings. Burton, a divine, and Baſtwick, a phyſician, were tried before this tribunal for ſchiſmatical libels, in which they attacked, with great ſeverity and intemperate zeal, the ceremonies of the church of England. They were condemned to the ſame puniſhment that had been inflicted upon Prynne; and Prynne himſelf was alſo tried for a new offence, for which he was fined five thouſand pounds more, and ſentenced to loſe what remained of his ears. The anſwers which theſe bold demagogues gave into court, were ſo full of contumacy and invective, that no lawyer could be prevailed with to ſign them. The rigours, however, which they underwent, gave general offence; and increaſed ſtill further the public indignation.

‡ The puritans, reſtrained in England, ſhipped themſelves off for America, where they laid the foundations of a new government, agreeable to their ſyſtems of religion and political freedom. But the government was prevailed on to iſſue a proclamation, debarring them of a retreat, even into thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Eight ſhips, lying in the Thames, and ready to ſail, were detained by order of counſel; and in theſe were embarked Sir Arthur Hazlerig, John Hambden, and Oliver

‡ A. D. 1635.

Oliver Cromwell, who had reſolved for ever to abandon their native country. Here was a ſurprizing inſtance of divine providence! Who can read the following tranſactions without obſerving it?

* The levying of *ſhip-money*, as it was called, being a general burthen, was now univerſally complained of. This was a tax which had, in former reigns, been levied without the conſent of parliament; but then the exigency of the ſtate demanded ſuch a ſupply. The queſtion was propoſed by the king to the judges, whether, in a caſe of neceſſity, he might not impoſe this tax? and whether he was not ſole judge of this neceſſity? To this the judges replied that he might; and that he was ſole judge of the neceſſity. In this univerſal obedience to the king's injunctions, † John Hambden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamſhire, refuſed to comply with the tax, and reſolved to bring it to a legal determination. He had been rated at twenty-ſhillings for his eſtate, which he refuſed to pay; and the caſe was argued twelve days in the Exchequer chamber, before all the judges of England. At length eight of the judges gave ſentence in favour of the crown. Nothing now was heard in every company but murmurs againſt government. It was alledged, that tyranny was confirmed, and there was no redreſs. In this univerſal ſtate of deſpondence, or clamour, an accident gave the people of England an opportunity of vindicating their privileges; and even of acquiring greater than were compatible with their own happineſs.

The

* A. D. 1636. † A. D. 1637.

The Scots had always ſhewed a ſtrong attachment to preſbyterian principles; and though they allowed of biſhops; yet they were reduced to poverty, and treated with contempt. James had ſeen the low eſtate of epiſcopacy in that kingdom, and had endeavoured to exalt it; but died in the midſt of his endeavours. Charles reſolved to complete what his father had begun. This ill-judged attempt ſerved to alienate the affections of his Scotch ſubjects, as his encroachments on liberty had rendered him unpopular in England.

The flame of ſedition in Scotland, paſſed from city to city, while the preſbyterians formed a *Covenant*, to ſupport and defend their opinions and mode of worſhip; and reſolved to eſtabliſh them, or overturn the ſtate. On the other hand, the court were determined to eſtabliſh the liturgy of the church of England; and both ſides being obſtinate in opinion, thoſe ſanguinary meaſures were ſoon begun in Scotland, which had hitherto been only talked of among the Engliſh.

It may be a ſatisfaction to the reader, to go take this matter higher, and trace the Scotiſh troubles from their riſe. What was done as early as the year 1633, laid the foundation of all the following commotions in Scotland. The king being then preſent, the lords of the Articles brought a bill into the parliament, for confirming the royal prerogative, as it had been ſettled in the year 1606; but tacked to it another bill, which paſſed in 1609, by which the late king was impowered to preſcribe apparel to churchmen with their own conſent.

According

§ A. D. 1638.

According to biſhop Burnet, the paſſing of this act was a perſonal compliment to king James; and it never had been executed in his reign. Another act was prepared for a reſumption of church lands and tythes, which had been alienated in the minority of the former reign; but it was pretended that this laſt act was no more than a matter of form, and intended to keep in awe the members of the oppoſition. In Scotland, the lords and commons ſat in one houſe; and the votes of both were of the ſame validity, but delivered *ſeriatim*, one by one. Charles was ſo intent on carrying his point, that he remained in the houſe during the whole debate; and pulling out of his pocket a liſt of the members, "I have all your names here, (ſaid he) and will know who will do me ſervice, and who will not, this day." This declaration did not daunt the members. They offered to confirm the act of 1606, relating to the prerogative; but objected to the act of 1609, being tacked to it. A motion was made by the earl of Rothes, that the acts might be divided; and the members in general ſeemed diſpoſed for a debate; but were ſilenced by Charles, who peremptorily ordered them to vote, but not to argue. The votes being collected, one Hay, clerk regiſter, whoſe office it was to examine the diviſion and declare the majority, ſaid the queſtion was carried in the affirmative. The earl of Rothes inſiſted that the majority was for the negative. Charles ſaid that the report of the clerk regiſter, was to be deciſive; and that if Rothes perſiſted in his oppoſition, he

he was to ſtand to the conſequences, which were, that he ſhould ſuffer the penalty of death, which the regiſter muſt have ſuffered, had he failed in his proof.

This ſeverity daunted Rothes, and the bill received the royal aſſent; but nothing leſs than abſolute infatuation could have prevented Charles from ſeeing that he loſt more than he gained by carrying his favourite points in ſo arbitrary a manner.

From this very time many of the chief men in Scotland formed the deſign which they did not avow till long after: but which they carried on by ſure though ſlow degrees, till it iſſued in the total deſtruction of the king.

Neither biſhop Guthrie, nor any of the Scotch hiſtorians have been ſufficiently explicit as to the part which Cardinal Richlieu afterwards bore in fomenting the public diſcontents at this time. But from State-papers it appears, that he had agents who inſinuated themſelves, under different appearances, with all parties both in Scotland and England; ſome of them in the ſhape of violent Laudians, and others of furious preſbyterians; but all of them employed to widen the difference between Charles and his people.

In the year 1636 he proceeded as if the people of Scotland had been unanimouſly diſpoſed to receive the new liturgy. By his order, the lords of the privy-council charged, by proclamation at the market croſſes of all the head burghs, all ſubjects to conform themſelves to the liturgy, and to provide two copies of the bock of common prayer for every

pariſh

pariſh in the kingdom. The twenty-thir
day of July 1637, was appointed for the da
when it was to be firſt uſed at Edinburgh
and it was by the privy counſel enjoined, tha
the two books ſhould be provided for ever
pariſh under pain of the miniſter's being de
clared a rebel, and undergoing forfeiture o
goods. Thoſe orders being intimated fro
the pulpit, created ſo ungovernable a ſpirit o
oppoſition among the common people, tha
three miniſters, Henderſon of Leuchers, Bruc
of King's Barnes, and Hamilton of New
burn, in the name of their brethren, preſente
a very ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the pro
poſed liturgy to the council, and againſt th
penalty annexed to the non-providing th
books. The council, of whom nine wer
biſhops, was intimidated by the numerou
attendants of the remonſtrants, and were l
childiſh as to explain their proclamation con
cerning the ſervice-books, by declaring, tha
they only meant the books ſhould be brought
thereby intimating that they ſhould not b
uſed in public worſhip.

On the Sunday morning, when the liturg
was firſt read, the tumult was exceeding great
But in the afternoon ſuch precautions wer
taken that the ſervice was celebrated witho
much diſturbance. Yet when it was over
the biſhop of Edinburgh was attacked in th
earl of Roxburgh's coach with ſtones, an
had he not been guarded by the earl's ſervants
who were provided with arms, he could no
have reached his lodging alive.

Ne

Next day, the council met, and iſſued a roclamation, prohibiting, under pain of eath, all tumultuous meetings in Edinburgh. The magiſtrates of that city were enjoined o uſe their utmoſt endeavours to apprehend he rioters of the former day, and the privy-ouncellors were ſo ill-adviſed, that in the etter they wrote to the king, upon the occa-on, they repreſented the tumults that had appened as being raiſed by a factious incon-derable mob, whom they could eaſily quiet. raquair, in a letter to the marquis of Ha-ilton, lays the greateſt part of the blame on e fiery zeal and intemperate behaviour of e biſhops. The council in their letter had fired Charles to call ſome of their own mber to Loudon, to lay before him the te of the affairs in Scotland.

Charles returned a very bitter anſwer to e council's repreſentation, vindicating the fections of his good people of Scotland, d accuſing the cowardice or coolneſs of his uncil and the magiſtrates, for all that had ppened. He concluded with a peremptory der, that every biſhop ſhould command the ok to be read in his dioceſe, as the biſhops Roſs and Dumblain had already done; d that no burgh ſhould chuſe any magiſtrate o did not conform to the ſame. He like-ſe rejected the requeſt of the council, that ſhould ſend for any of their number.

The earls of Rothes, Caſſils, Eglington, me, Lothian, and Wemys; the lords ndſay, Yeſter, Balmerino, Crauſton, and udon, with numbers of the leading gentry

and burgeſſes all over the kingdom, openly declared themſelves againſt the liturgy; and in this they were countenanced by the ſilence or acquieſcence of the old prelates. Hope the king's advocate was conſulted on every occaſion, how far they might go without being guilty of overtacts of treaſon. Regular committees and correſpondencies of the party were formed all over the kingdom: and a paper, juſtifying or explaining their proceedings was ſent to Sir William Alexander, now earl of Stirling, and ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, to be laid before the king.

Had Charles acted with the leaſt degree of moderation with regard to their petitions, which could in no ſenſe have affected the just rights of ſovereignty; had he even been content, for the preſent, to order a ſuſpenſion of his unpopular acts relating to the liturgy, the petitioners would have departed in quiet to their reſpective homes.

Matters were in this ferment in Scotland, where the council ſat, ſometimes at Dalkeith, ſometimes at Stirling, and often at Linlithgow, when the earl of Roxburgh returned with a letter from Charles to the council, informing the members that he was fully apprized of his royal pleaſure. A proclamation was ſoon after ſent down, declaring the king's abhorrence of popery, and his reſolution "to do nothing againſt the laudable laws of his native kingdom." The council was then ſitting at Linlithgow, and the diſcontented party once more were aſſembled at Edinburgh. The earl of Loudon was choſen to be their mo-

nd having gained admittance to the council-oom he made a ſpeech, in which he inveighed trongly againſt popery, the order of biſhops, nd the innovations in religion that had been ately introduced.

As the petitioners ſtill profeſſed the moſt xplicit obedience to the king's authority, it vas agreed, that the common people ſhould eſort to their reſpective habitations; and that our noblemen, four barons, four burgeſſes, nd four miniſters, (but their numbers were fterwards doubled) ſhould be left as com-nittees for their ſeveral orders, to treat with he privy-council. Each of thoſe orders ſat t a table, where their proceedings were de-ated before they were rendered deciſive. It vas at thoſe tables where the renewing of the onfeſſion of faith, which has been ſince ſo vell known by the deſignation of the ſolemn eague and covenant, came under deliberation. The reader may remember the occaſion upon hich this covenant was firſt inſtituted in he late reign, when it was ſigned by king ames, his council and family. This act erved as the ground work of the preſent cove-ant, which conſiſted, beſides, of a narrative f all acts of parliament ratifying the reform-d religion, and an abjuration of the late in-ovations, till they were judged in a free, eneral aſſembly; and the whole ended with bond of defence, for adhering to one ano-her againſt all perſons whatſoever, in defence f what they had done. In ſhort, this new ngagement was ſo extenſive, that it not only bolished the new liturgy and canons, but

the epiſcopal government itſelf, and the five articles of Perth, though they had received a parliamentary ſanction.

It is impoſſible to conceive with what avidity this covenant was ſigned by all ranks and degrees of preſbyterians, firſt at Edinburgh, and then all over the kingdom. Though many well-wiſhers to epiſcopacy and monarchy were ſtill in Scotland, yet they were ſo diſpirited, that no oppoſition was made to the covenanters, and no counter-engagement formed to balance them. This was more than the party expected. Power was given to all ranks and degrees of men to adminiſter the covenant; and none were found unprovided with a copy of it, which they obliged all who came in their way to ſign.

Traquair, upon his return to Scotland, privately informed the heads of the table of his inſtructions; and they accordingly prepared a counter-proteſt, which they committed to the earl of Hume and lord Lindſay, who reached Stirling before Traquair. No ſooner was the king's proclamation read, than thoſe two noblemen, as had been concerted with the other heads of the party, publicly proteſted againſt it, and diſpatched authenticated copies of their proteſt to other cities and towns. This may be looked upon as the firſt defiance thrown out againſt government by the covenanters. The contents of the proteſt are therefore too important to be omitted here.

In the firſt place, they demanded an immediate recourſe to the king to preſent their grievances

grievances. Secondly, they proteſted againſt the juriſdiction of the biſhops, of whom they demanded a legal trial, for the crimes laid to their charge. Thirdly, they proteſted againſt all the acts, either in council or out of council, in which the biſhops are parties, in prejudice to the proteſtors. Fourthly, they proteſted againſt being affected by any act political or eccleſiaſtical, introduced without, or againſt the acts of the general aſſembly; and they claimed the liberty of ſerving God according to the conſtitutions of the church and kingdom. Fifthly, they proteſted againſt being anſwerable for any dangerous conſequences that may attend the counſellors not ratifying their demands. And, laſtly, they in fact, proteſted againſt the king's refuſing to comply with them.

It is not to be diſputed, that the contents of this proteſt were ſeditious and treaſonable, as the laws then ſtood in Scotland: nor can they be vindicated but by the pretended neceſſity of puſhing the people all at once, laſt all reconciliation with the court.

They had now ſolemnly ſworn at Edinburgh to be true to the covenant; and had raiſed conſiderable bodies of men to cement their aſſociation. Charles kept himſelf too abſtracted in his own majeſty, and at too great a diſtance to receive any true information of what was paſſing. He was ſtartled, however, by the arrival of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews' and the other biſhops, whom the fury of the covenanters had driven into England, and his eyes began to be opened when he ſaw

them followed by Traquair, to whom h chiefly intrusted the management of eccles astical affairs in Scotland.

Traquair took this opportunity to poss Charles with a good opinion of milder mea sures. He was backed by the lord jus ice Clerk, who had been sent up by th rest of the council with full instructions to the state of Scotland, and the means restoring its tranquility. The earl of Rox burgh, for whom Charles had always ex pressed a personal regard, joined them the same opinion; but after all, neither the nor the counsellors, who remained in Sco land, had the courage to speak the who truth.

In this he was peremptory, saying, that long as that covenant was not cancelled, h had no more power than the duke of Venic

He ordered Hamilton and Traquair draw up a declaration to be published Scotland; and they inserted in it a promi of redress for their grievances, provided th renounced the covenant in a certain tim The archbishop of St. Andrew's, who kne the temper of the covenanters much bett than they did, drew up another in mo smooth and general terms; but Charles thinking it explicit enough with regard to t covenant, rejected it, and adopted the oth which Hamilton carried down with him, part of his instructions.

Before Hamilton reached Edinburgh, t covenanters made dispositions for repelli force, by force, if needful. They h boug

bought up large quantities of arms abroad. They deprived the magiſtrates of Edinburgh of all command in that city. They ſurrounded it with fifteen hundred men, and blockaded the caſtle, becauſe the governor refuſed to ſurrender it. After Hamilton entered Scotland, he was attended by lord Lindſay, who told him plainly, that the people were reſolved never to give up their covenant. That they inſiſted upon having the articles of Perth annulled, and epiſcopacy reduced to little more than a name; adding, that if a free parliament and a general aſſembly were not immediately called, they were reſolved to call both by their own authority. When Hamilton arrived at Dalkeith, where the council was then ſitting, he found the majority of its members had a warm ſide to the covenanters; and the latter were determined to carry into execution, if needful, all that lord Lindſay had threatened. He adviſed Charles of the deſperate ſtate of his affairs in Scotland; and that twenty thouſand men in arms were near the capital. His advice was, that the king ſhould ſecretly prepare to reduce the rebels by force of arms. In the mean while, he informed his majeſty, "he found the ſpirit of the people to be ſuch, that he did not think proper to open that part of his inſtructions which related to the covenant." Charles approved of all this, and promiſed to follow his advice.

Hamilton had been inſtructed, if poſſible, to evade the calling together a parliament, or a general aſſembly, till the covenant was re-

renounced. His mild addreſs and inſinuating behaviour, had prevailed with the covenanters to diſmiſs the crowds that repaired to Edinburgh. This gave him ſome courage, and he endeavoured to prevail with the crown lawyers to publiſh an opinion againſt the legality of the covenant; but they evaded it, on account of the danger they might incur. It required all Hamilton's temper to put up with the affronts he daily met with. The covenanters had actually wreſted the ſword out of the king's hand. They continued to proceed with fury againſt all who refuſed to take the covenant. They prohibited the numerous relations and dependants the commiſſioner had in the Weſt, to attend him in a body; and he plainly ſaw, that they intended to inſult him even at the council-board, if he ſhould attempt to oppoſe his authority to their pleaſure. They had again preſſed him to call a parliament; and he ſtill begged to be excuſed, till public tranquility was reſtored: but as they continued to preſs him, he promiſed to go to court, and obtain leave from Charles for that purpoſe.

Though Charles was a kind and generous maſter to all his ſervants, and eſpecially the Scots, who were about his perſon, yet they betrayed him, and ſent to the covenanters copies of all the diſpatches he either received or iſſued. This practice was ſo common, and ſo eaſily carried on, by the acceſs which his bed-chamber men had to his pockets, that the few friends he had in Scotland, in recommending to him ſecrecy, uſed to deſire that he would

would not truſt even his own pockets with their letters.

Upon the return of Hamilton, with thoſe and many other inſtructions of the ſame healing nature, all the ſubjects, who were not enthuſiaſtically bent upon rebellion, exulted at the near proſpect of tranquility in their country. The privy-council unanimouſly ſigned the negative confeſſion of faith, (as it was called) and covenant of the late reign, while the king's free pardon was proclaimed; and the liturgy, the book of canons, the high Commiſſion, and the Perth Articles publicly revoked. Thoſe and many other conceſſions damped the courage of the covenanters; and they demanded time to conſider of their ſigning the old confeſſion. This was refuſed them; upon which they took a formal proteſt againſt all that had been done by the lord commiſſioner, and the lords of the council, who had unanimouſly agreed, that Charles had to the full gratified them in all lawful demands. Sir Thomas Hope was among the privy-counſellors, who addreſſed a letter of thanks to Charles for his gracious condeſcenſion; and a proclamation was iſſued for the meeting both of the general aſſembly and the parliament; but this was proteſted againſt by the earl of Montroſe, at the head of the covenanters.

The old covenant became now the party-word with the royaliſts, as the new was with their antagoniſts. The diſtinction was of great ſervice to Charles. Many who had entertained the moſt dreadful apprehenſions, were

were now convinced that neither their religion nor liberties were in danger, and upwards of twenty eight thouſand perſons ſigned the old covenant. The northern parts of the kingdom almoſt to a man, declared againſt the new covenant; and had it not been for the zeal and activity of the earl of Montroſe, Huntley and his friends would have put themſelves in arms, and have marched ſouthwards. A general aſſembly of the clergy was then ſitting at Glaſgow, in which all the biſhops who did not ſubmit to be put upon the footing of Preſbyters, were depoſed or excommunicated. Many of the moderate miniſters, who were friends to the old epiſcopacy, were driven from their livings; and the members had the inſolence to vote, that a letter ſhould be ſent to the king for his approbation of their conduct.

‡ In a few weeks, all the north of England and the frontier towns towards Scotland, were put in an excellent poſture of defence; and Charles found himſelf at the head of ſix thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, all of them well mounted, well armed, and full of ſpirits; beſides a ſtrong ſquadron of five thouſand men on board, commanded by the marquis of Hamilton. Generals were now to be provided for this noble army; and Charles, to give as little offence as poſſible to his numerous enemies, appointed the earl of Arundel, a nobleman who had never been a favourite at court, but was a ſoldier, to command it; and under him the earl of Eſſex, who had ſeen abundance of ſervice, and was very popular in England; but was no enemy to many

‡ A. Dr 1639.

of the principles upon which the covenanters proceeded, though he inveighed on all occasions againſt the Scotch nation in general. Thus Charles made but a doubtful choice of the general who was to have the active management of his army. The earl of Holland, who was a favourite of the queen, and younger brother to the earl of Warwick, who had numerous friends and relations, was appointed to be the third general in command, though he was known to be a puritan, deſtitute of all knowledge of war, and with very little but a graceful perſon to recommend him. By this time, Charles had publiſhed a declaration of his reaſons for undertaking this expedition.

The covenanters now avowed their rebellion; and many of them diſclaimed the oaths either of allegiance or ſupremacy, tho' their writings and ſpeeches were filled with the moſt dutiful profeſſions of odedience to the royal authority. They had ſurprized the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the houſe of Dalkeith, where the regalia were lodged; and they fortified Leith againſt the royal fleet, which was then at ſea. Hamilton was greatly blamed by thoſe, who were ignorant of the true ſtate of things, for not providing better than he did for the defence of Edinburgh caſtle; and Charles ordered the earl of Traquair to confine himſelf to his own houſe, till he ſhould ſhew the reaſon why he gave up Dalkeith, before any cannon was brought before the place. A few well-affected nobility ſtill made head againſt the rebels. The earl of Roxburgh for a while preſerved Teviotdale in its allegi-

allegiance; but was ſoon obliged to yield to the covenanters. The marquis of Douglas, by being a papiſt, could not do the king the ſervice he wiſhed; and his caſtle of Tantallon was ſeized by the covenanters; ſo that almoſt all Scotland ſouth of the Tay, fell under their power without bloodſhed. In Angus, the earls of Airly and Southeſk declared for the king; but the ſtrength of the royal cauſe lay with Huntley in the north. That nobleman had deſired of Charles two or three thouſand men, and arms for five thouſand more. They were promiſed him, but never ſent.

The heads of the covenanters, who did not expect to ſee ſuch an appearance of royaliſts in Scotland, exerted themſelves with moſt amazing activity. They had ſeized upon the caſtle of Dumbarton, which, like that of Edinburgh, had been moſt unaccountably left defenceleſs. Beſides Leſley, they had engaged Monro, and ſeveral other Scotch officers, who had gained great reputation abroad, in their ſervice. Monro had a command upon the borders, where he over-awed Roxburgh and the earl of Nithſdale, and kept an eye upon the incurſions of the Engliſh. The earl of Argyle undertook to guard the Weſtern coaſt, and to oppoſe any deſcent from Ireland. He had raiſed a regiment of a thouſand men, who had ſurprized and garriſoned the marquis of Hamilton's caſtle in the iſle of Arran. The earl of Montroſe was appointed their general in the North, where Leſley was to ſerve under him againſt the marquis of Huntley. Montroſe, who was attended by

the earl Marſhal, appointed Tunef, a village in Aberdeenſhire, for the rendezvous of all the northern covenanters; and he was ſoon at the head of a conſiderable army; but was tied down to undertake no ſervice of importance without conſulting Leſley.

An interview, however, was procured between the two generals; and Huntley, upon Montroſe's invitation, repaired to the camp of the covenanters at Inveroury, where a pacification for the north was agreed upon. Montroſe was to return with his army Southwards. Huntley was to diſband his, and was not to trouble or moleſt any of the covenanters within the bounds of his Lieutenancy.

On the firſt of May, the marquis of Hamilton appeared with his fleet in the road of Leith. He was furniſhed with a proclamation drawn up by his majeſty, in which he gave an account of the affronts his authority had received by the covenanters, and his deſign to do himſelf right, according to the power and authority God had put in his hand, withal offering indemnity to ſuch as ſhould, within eight days, lay down their arms, ſome few excepted, declaring ſuch as would not obey, to be rebels, ſetting a price upon their heads, and ordering their vaſſals and tenants not to acknowledge them, nor pay them rents. The covenanters had neglected to fortify the iſlands of Juchkeith and Juchcolm; and the marquis not venturing to land at Leith, either on the Lothian or the Fife coaſts, ſet his men on ſhore on thoſe ſmall

iſlands; but the covenanters at Edinburgh refuſed to ſuffer the king's proclamation to be publiſhed.

The repreſentations ſent up by Hamilton to Charles ſtartled that prince ſo much, that he ordered him not to begin hoſtilities in the South; but ſeemed inclined to ſend a detachment to his friends in the North.

The covenanters at laſt, left their camp, and advancing towards that of Charles, drew up their army in array. After ſome management on both ſides, it was agreed, that the earl of Dumfermling ſhould be admitted on the part of the covenanters to preſent Charles with the following petition, which I ſhall here give the reader, as a ſpecimen of that great art with which they conducted themſelves.

"To the king's moſt excellent majeſty.

"The humble petition of his majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland humbly ſheweth, That whereas former means uſed by us, hath not been effectual for recovering your majeſty's favour, and the peace of this your majeſty's kingdom, we fall down again at your majeſty's feet, moſt humbly ſupplicating, that your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to appoint ſome few of your majeſty's many worthy men of your majeſty's kingdom of England, who are well affected to the true religion, and common peace, to hear ſome of us of the ſame affection, of our humble deſires; and to make known to us your majeſty's gracious pleaſure, that as by the providence of God

we are here joined in one iſland, and one king, ſo by your majeſty's great wiſdom and tender care, all miſtaking may be ſpeedily removed; and the two kingdoms may be kept in peace and happineſs under your majeſty's long and proſperous reign, for the which we ſhall never ceaſe, as becomes your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, daily to pray for your majeſty's long and happy reign over us."

The Engliſh counſellors laid hold of the ſeeming loyalty and plauſability of this petition, and the dutiful application of the Scots in being the firſt who ſued for peace, to perſuade Charles to enter upon a negotiation.

The covenanting army being thus diſbanded (though many of them ſtill kept together in bodies) the marquis of Huntley and his ſon were freed from their impriſonment; and orders were ſent for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in the North. All this was a deceitful calm. The leaders of the covenanters thought that they ſufficiently provided againſt any reſumption of the church-lands, and againſt all attacks upon the civil and religious liberties of their country, by Charles' conſenting to call a free parliament, and a general aſſembly.

When this ſummons arrived at Edinburgh, the people were more exaſperated than ever againſt the late pacification; and many of the covenanting lords; when it was proclaimed at Edinburgh by Lyon king at arms, proteſted that they adhered to the aſſembly at Glaſgow. The earl of Traquair had been inſulted in the ſtreets of Edinburgh; and the

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white rod, or ſtaff, which was carried before him as lord treaſurer, was broken by the populace. He complained to the magiſtrates of this outrage; but all the ſatisfaction he obtained was, that they preſented him with a new ſtaff, which they bought for the value of ſix-pence.

Other inſults againſt the ſervants of the crown, too numerous to be mentioned here, were committed at the ſame time; and the rage of the people was ſuch, that all the noblemen whom Charles had ſummoned, excepting Montroſe, Loudon and Lothian, were intimidated from attending him at Berwick; thoſe three obtaining leave from the populace with the greateſt difficulty.

Montroſe, upon converſing with the king, conceived ſo good an opinion of him, that he ran at once from the extreme of oppoſition, if not rebellion, to that of loyalty; and declared to the other two noblemen, who ſeemed to be of his opinion, that he thought Charles had made all the conceſſions that his people could require.

Charles being fully inſtructed as to the ſentiments of, at leaſt, the beſt intentioned heads of the covenanters, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the marquis of Hamilton, offered again to conſtitute that nobleman his high-commiſſioner in Scotland; but he had ſuch reaſons for declining the honour, as ſatisfied Charles, and he recommended the earl of Traquair. The latter, ever ſince his delivering up Dalkeith, had been under a kind of cloud with Charles: he recovered the royal

royal confidence, by putting into his hands the following letter, ſigned by ſeven-leading covenanters, addreſſed to the king of France.

"Sir,

"Your majeſty being the refuge and ſanctuary of afflicted princes and ſtates, we have found it neceſſary to ſend this gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to repreſent unto your majeſty the candour and ingenuity, as well of our actions and proceedings, as of our intentions, which we deſire to be engraved and written to the whole world with a beam of the ſun, as well as to your majeſty. We therefore moſt humbly beſeech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him, and to all that he ſhall ſay on our part, touching us and our affairs; being moſt aſſured, Sir, of an aſſiſtance, equal to your wonted clemency heretofore, and ſo often ſhewed to this nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatever, to be eternally, Sir, your majeſty's moſt humble, moſt obedient, and moſt affectionate ſervants, Rothes, Montroſe, Leſley, Marr, Montgomery, Loudon, Forreſter."

Though this letter was not ſent, yet it is a proof to what deſpair the covenanters were reduced at the time of its writing, and of the dependance which they had upon the French king, or rather Richlieu. Charles thought it ſo important an evidence in his favour, that following the advice of the marquis of Hamilton, he appointed Traquair to be his commiſſioner in the approaching Scotch parliament.

When Traquair came to Edinburgh, he obſerved, that very little had been done in executing the treaty. The caſtle of Edinburgh had been indeed reſtored to Ruthven; but the common people continued in ſo great a ferment, that neither the marquis of Hamilton, nor any nobleman of known moderation, far leſs the friends of Charles, could appear with ſafety in the ſtreets of Edinburgh. The fortifications of Leith were ſtill continued, the army of the covenanters was re-aſſembled, or never had been diſbanded; and many other violations of the pacification ſtill ſubſiſted.

Matters were in this ſituation, when the parliament ſat down; but the commiſſioner was attended with very few of the covenant nobility, and a general aſſembly met at the ſame time. Charles intended himſelf to have been preſent at both meetings; but the common people had now erected themſelves into a tribunal, which diſclaimed all authority, even of thoſe who were formerly their leaders. The latter knowing that they had now nothing to depend upon but the vulgar, were obliged to ſubmit to their dictates. The parliament ſuffered Traquair to name the lords of the articles, that formerly had been named by the biſhops; but in all other reſpects they ſeemed to take the word of command from the general aſſembly. Epiſcopacy was in both meetings declared to be unlawful in the church of Scotland, and the following explanation of the covenant was agreed to.

"We do ſwear, not only our mutual concurrence and aſſiſtance for the cauſe of our

religion, and to the uttermoſt of our power, with our means and lives, to ſtand to the defence of our dread ſovereign, and his authority, in the preſervation and defence of the ſaid true religion, liberties, and laws of this kirk and kingdom, but alſo in every cauſe which may concern his majeſty's honour, we ſhall, (according to the laws of this kingdom, and duties of good ſubjects) concur with our friends and followers in quiet manner, or in arms, as we ſhall be required of his majeſty's council or any having his authority."

This explanation was far from ſatisfying the king, who now thought that he had committed a great ſoleciſm in politics, by treating with his own ſubjects. He found that the common people did not think themſelves obliged to ſtand by the terms of pacification; and that their commiſſioners had never been impowered to treat for them.

In ſhort, while the parliament was proceeding to the redreſs of grievances, Charles ſent his commiſſioner orders to prorogue them, and to repair in perſon to London.

Traquair, who ſeems to have been a man of a very narrow genius, had no friend about court, but the marquis of Hamilton, who continued ſtill to be a ſtrenuous advocate for moderate meaſures. When Traquair received the order of prorogation, he ſent it to the lords of the articles, under the privy-ſeal. Their clerk, Gibſon of Durie, refuſed to read it; but when it was carried to the parliament-houſe, it was read under a proteſt both for its form and manner, and the meeting was for that

that time diſſolved; but the earls of Dumfermling and Loudon were commiſſioned to repair to court, on the part of the Scotch parliament and aſſembly. Traquair, through the intereſt of Hamilton, was better received by Charles than could have been expected; though that prince was then in a dreadful ſituation.

Traquair adviſed a freſh expedition againſt the covenanters; and as Charles dreaded a parliament, he had recourſe to a ſubſcription, or loan, in which he was liberally ſupplied for defraying the expence. In the mean while, the parliament without any authority, re-aſſembled in Scotland, under pretence that their late prorogation was illegal, without conſent of the ſtates.

* The wiſeſt among the covenanters, notwithſtanding this furious party-zeal, knew that their beſt friends lay in England; and they wrote a letter by Loudon to the heads of the oppoſition there, to know what they were to truſt to, in caſe they ſhould invade England; deſiring their friends among the Engliſh, at the ſame time, to enter into an aſſociation for their intereſt. This letter was ſent to the lord Saville, becauſe he was a profeſt enemy to the earl of Strafford; and Saville ordered one Darley, his ſecretary, to wait upon the earls of Bedford, Eſſex, Brook, Warwick, and the lords Say and Mandeville. But though thoſe noblemen oppoſed the court, they diſliked the propoſal, as being at once dangerous and treaſonable. This did not diſcourage Saville; for Darley, by his direction, forged

* A. D. 1640.

forged a letter, as written to himſelf, from thoſe noblemen, in conſequence of his ſhewing them the letter from Scotland. This forgery was ſent to Scotland; but none were to ſee it, except the earls of Rothes and Argyle, and Wariſton, in whoſe hands it was depoſited. None of them ſuſpected the forgery; ſo that all of them talked with great confidence of their powerful intereſt in England which was confirmed by the aſſurances Saville made to lord Loudon.

It was now above eleven years ſince the king had called a parliament. The fierce and ungovernable ſpirit of the laſt had taught him to hate and to fear ſuch an aſſembly; but all reſources being exhauſted, and great debts contracted, he was obliged to call another. The many illegal and imprudent ſteps of the crown, the hardſhips which ſeveral perſons had ſuffered, and their conſtancy in undergoing puniſhment, had as much alienated the affections of the king's Engliſh as of his Scotch ſubjects. Inſtead of ſupplies the king was harraſſed with murmurs and complaints. The zealous in religion were pleaſed with the diſtreſſes of the crown, in its attempts againſt their brethren in opinion; and the republicans ſaw, that the time was approaching, when the royal authority muſt fall into a total dependence on popular aſſemblies.

The Houſe of commons could not be induced to treat the Scots as enemies. They regarded them as friends and brothers. The king, therefore, could reap no other fruits from

from this assembly than murmurings and complaints. Every method he had taken to supply himself with money was declared an abuse, and a breach of the constitution. Tonnage and poundage, ship-money, the sale of monopolies, the billetting soldiers upon refractory citizens, were all voted as stretches of arbitrary power. The king finding no hopes of redress from the commons, had recourse to the house of peers; but this was equally ineffectual. So he once more dissolved the parliament, to try more feasible methods of removing his necessities.

It was thought by many, that the king never took a more fatal step, than the dissolution of this parliament, as very many of the members loved both him and the constitution both in church and state. So that had he made to these half the concessions which he made to the following parliament, a lasting peace would have ensued.

The marquis of Hamilton had too great an interest there not to advise Charles to agree to this fatal dissolution; and he prevailed on him to set Loudon at liberty, on his promising to do his majesty all the service he could in Scotland. When the parliament was dissolved, Charles received by his loan and subscriptions three hundred thousand pounds in ready money, which he appropriated to preparations for the invasion of Scotland. He then proceeded to a nomination of his general officers; but omitted all who had any considerable command in the late expedition. He ap-

appointed the earl of Northumberland to command in chief, and the earl of Strafford to be his lieutenant-general.

By this time, the covenanters ſo thoroughly diſregarded the royal authority in Scotland, that they had impriſoned the earl of Southeſk, and the other eminent royaliſts.

They continued the blockade of the caſtle of Edinburgh; and treated all who refuſed to take the covenant, as traitors. The king had ordered the parliament not to aſſemble; but the members notwithſtanding, met on the ſecond day of June; and perhaps no parliament ever went through ſo much, and ſuch important buſineſs as it did in eight days, which was the term of its duration.

The king's manifeſto was condemned as full of untruths and lies, and, in fact, a firebrand. In ſhort, this parliament, upon the whole, took from the king all executive power.

This ſeſſion of parliament made the greateſt change, at one blow, that ever happened to this church and ſtate theſe ſix hundred years paſt; in effect, it overturned not only the ancient ſtate-government, but fettered monarchy with chains, and ſet new limits and marches to the ſame, beyond which it was not to proceed.

The conſtitution of Scotland being thus new modelled, both parties proceeded in their levies of men and money. The earl of Stirling, ſecretary of ſtate, for Scotland, being dead, was ſucceeded in that poſt by the earl of Lanerk, brother to the marquis of Hamilton

milton; a promotion which was far from being diſagreeable to the covenanters. They were, however, not a little diſconcerted in the choice of their military officers. The chief command was again given to Leſley: but Montroſe, who had been gained by Charles, was the beſt officer in the field.

It was about this time, that Sir William Boſwell, who was reſident from Charles at the Hague, diſcovered the deep part which Richlieu had taken in fomenting the troubles of Charles.

The king having now made enemies of his Scotch ſubjects, by controlling them in their mode of worſhip, and of the commons by diſſolving them, it remained to exaſperate the city of London againſt him by ſome new imprudence. Upon their refuſing to lend him money to carry on the Scotch war, he ſued the citizens in the Star-chamber for ſome lands in Ireland, and made them pay a conſiderable fine. He continued alſo to exact all the taxes againſt which every former parliament had remonſtrated; but all were inſufficient. A loan of forty thouſand pounds was extorted from the Spaniſh merchants, who had bullion in the Tower, expoſed to the attempts of the king. Coat and conduct money for the ſoldiers was levied on the counties; an ancient practice, but ſuppoſed to be aboliſhed by the petition of right. All the pepper was bought from the Eaſt India company upon truſt, and ſold at a great diſcount for ready money. Yet all theſe methods were far from being effectual. The Scots, ſenſible of the extremities to which he was reduced, led on an army

of twenty thouſand men as far as Newcaſtle upon Tyne, to lay their grievances before their ſovereign, as they were pleaſed to term their rebellion. One of the moſt diſguſting ſtrokes in the character of the republicans, was this gentle language and humble cant, in the midſt of treaſon; and their flattery to their prince, while they were attempting to dethrone and deſtroy him.

To theſe troops, inſpired by religion, flushed with ſome ſlight victories obtained over ſtraggling parties of the royaliſts, and encouraged by the Engliſh themſelves, the king was able to oppoſe only a ſmaller force, new levied, undiſciplined, ſeditious, and ill paid. Being therefore in deſpair of ſtemming the torrent, he at laſt yielded to it. He firſt ſummoned a great council of peers to York; and, as he foreſaw that they would adviſe him to call a parliament, he told them in his firſt ſpeech that he had already taken that reſolution.

† The expectations of men with regard to a parliament at ſuch a critical juncture, might naturally engage the attendance of the members on their duty. ‡ The houſe of commons was never, from its firſt inſtitution, obſerved to be ſo numerous, or the aſſiduity of its members greater. Without any interval, they entered upon buſineſs; and by unanimous conſent ſtruck a blow that was deciſive. * Inſtead of granting the demanded ſubſidies, they impeached the earl of Strafford, the king's firſt miniſter, and had him arraigned before the houſe of peers for high treaſon. Pym, a tedious, but ſenſible ſpeaker, who had firſt

† A. D. 1640. ‡ Nov. 3. * Nov. 11.

opened the accuſation againſt him in the houſe of commons, was ſent up to defend it at the bar of the houſe of lords; and moſt of the houſe accompanied their member on ſo agreeable an errand.

‡ To beſtow the greateſt ſolemnity on this important trial, ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter Hall, where both houſes ſat, the one as judges, the other as accuſers. Beſide the chair of ſtate, a cloſe gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment againſt him were twenty-eight, the ſubſtance of which was, that he had attempted to extend the king's authority at home, and had been guilty of exactions in Ireland. But though four months were employed by the managers in framing the accuſation, yet there appears very little cauſe of blame in him, ſince the ſtretches of the king's power were made before he came into authority. However, the managers for the houſe of commons pleaded againſt him with vehemence ſtronger than their reaſons, and ſummed up their arguments, by inſiſting, that though each article ſeparately did not amount to a proof, yet the whole taken together, did. This is a method of arguing ſometimes uſed even at this day: and perhaps none can be more erroneous; for almoſt every falſhood may be found to have a multiplicity of weak reaſons to ſupport it. In this tumult and clamour, the earl himſelf, whoſe parts and wiſdom had been long reſpectable, ſtood unmoved and undaunted. He defended his cauſe with all the preſence

‡ A. D. 1641.

preſence of mind, judgment, and ſagacity, that could be expected from innocence and ability. His children were placed beſide him as he was thus defending his life, and the cauſe of his maſter. After he had in a long and eloquent ſpeech, delivered without premeditation, confuted all the accuſations of his enemies; after he had ſhewn that during his government in Ireland, he had introduced the arts of peace among the ſavage part of that people; and that though his meaſures in England were harſh, yet they were abſolutely neceſſary; after he had clearly refuted the argument upon the accumulative force of his guilt, he thus drew to a concluſion. "But "my lords, I have troubled you too long; "longer than I ſhould have done, but for the "ſake of theſe dear pledges, which a ſaint in "heaven has left me."—Upon this he pauſed, dropped a tear, looked upon his children, and proceeded.—"What I forfeit for myſelf is a "trifle; that my indiſcretions ſhould reach "my poſterity, wounds me to the heart.— "Pardon my infirmity.—Something I ſhould "have added, but am not able; therefore let "it paſs. And now, my lords, for myſelf; I "have long been taught that the afflictions of "this life are overpaid by that eternal weight "of glory which awaits the innocent; and "ſo my lords, even ſo, with the utmoſt tran- "quility, I ſubmit myſelf to your judg- "ment, whether that judgment be life or "death: not my will, but thine, O God, be "done." His eloquence and innocence induced thoſe judges to pity, who were the moſt

zealous to condemn him. * The king himſelf went to the houſe of lords, and ſpoke for ſome time in his defence; but the ſpirit that had been chained for eleven years, was now rouzed, and nothing but his blood could give the republicans ſatisfaction. He was found guilty by both houſes of parliament; and nothing remained but for the king to give his conſent to the bill of attainder. But in the preſent commotions the conſent of the king was a thing that would very eaſily be diſpenſed with. Yet ſtill Charles, who loved Strafford tenderly, heſitated, and tried every expedient to put off ſigning the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this agitation of mind, not knowing how to act, his doubts were at laſt ſilenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, deſiring that his life might be made the ſacrifice of a mutual reconciliation between the king and his people; adding, that he was prepared to die, and to a willing mind there could be no injury. This inſtance of noble generoſity was but ill repaid by his maſter, who complied with his requeſt. At the ſame time he paſſed a bill, that the preſent parliament ſhould not be diſſolved but by themſelves. By this he gave the power out of his own hands, and in effect laid his head on the block. It does not ſeem, that any meaſures he could afterwards take could poſſibly prevent his deſtruction. He conſented to the ſigning the fatal bill by commiſſion. On the 12th of May Strafford was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill. In this

* May 1.

this laſt ſcene he appeared, with the ſerenity which is the effect of true courage and internal peace. He expreſſed his fears, that a reformation begun with ſhedding innocent blood, would not have an happy iſſue. Having bid adieu to his brother and friends, "And now, ſaid he, one ſtroke will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherleſs, deprive my poor ſervants of their indulgent maſter, and ſeparate me from my affectionate brother, and from all my friends." In preparing himſelf for the block, "I thank God, added he, I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as chearfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repoſe." The executioner ſevered his head from his body at one ſtroke. Such was the fate of Strafford, a nobleman of rare talents, invincible courage and unſhaken honeſty. And the bill of attainder by which he fell is a ſtanding reproach to both houſes of parliament. Archbiſhop Laud, after a deliberation which did not continue half an hour, was conſidered as ſufficiently culpable to incur the ſame accuſation, and was committed to cuſtody. Finch, the lord-keeper, was alſo impeached; but he had the precaution to make his eſcape, and fly over into Holland, as did Sir Francis Wyndebank, the ſecretary, into France.

The crown being thus deprived of the ſervices of its miniſters, the commons next proceeded to attack the few privileges it ſtill poſſeſſed. During the late military operations,

tions, ſeveral powers had been exerted by the lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants of counties, men who were all under the influence of the crown. Theſe were, therefore, voted *Delinquents*; a term now firſt uſed to ſignify tranſgreſſors, whoſe crimes were not as yet aſcertained by law. The ſheriffs alſo, who had obeyed the king's mandate in raiſing ſhip-money, were voted to be delinquents. All the farmers and officers of the cuſtoms, who had been employed during ſo many years in levying tonnage and poundage, were ſubjected to the ſame imputation, and only purchaſed their ſafety by paying an hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. Every ſentence of the Star-chamber, and High commiſſion courts, underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny; and all thoſe who had any hand in ſuch ſentences were voted to be liable to the penalties of the law. The judges, who had declared againſt Hambden in the trial of ſhip-money, were accuſed before the peers, and obliged to find ſecurity for their appearance. All thoſe monopolies which had been lately granted by the crown, were annihilated by the order of the commons; and they carried their deteſtation of that grievance ſo far, as to expel from their own houſe all ſuch members as had been monopoliſts.

Hitherto we have ſeen the commons in ſome meaſure the patrons of liberty; oppoſing illegal power, or repreſſing thoſe claims which, tho' founded on cuſtom, were deſtructive of freedom. Thus far their aims were juſt and honourable: but the paſſions of the

the nation were now excited; and having been once put into motion, they knew not where to ſtop. Had they been contented with reſting here, after abridging all thoſe privileges of monarchy which were capable of injuring the ſubject, and leaving it all thoſe prerogatives that could benefit, they would have been conſidered as the great benefactors of mankind. But they were reſolved to revenge their former ſufferings. The horrors of a civil war were not ſufficiently attended to; and they precipitately involved the nation in calamities, of which they themſelves ſoon found cauſe to repent.

The whole nation was thrown into a general ferment. The harangues of the members, now firſt publiſhed and diſperſed, kept it alive. The pulpits, delivered over to thoſe preachers, whom the commons arbitrarily placed in all the conſiderable churches, reſounded with faction. The preſs, freed from all fear or reſtraint, ſwarmed with productions, dangerous by their ſedition and calumny, more than by their eloquence.

In this univerſal uproar againſt the crown, Prynne, Burton, and Baſtwick, who had ſome years before ſuffered ſo ſeverely for their licentious abuſes, and had been committed to remote priſons, were ſet at liberty by order of the commons, and were ſeen making their triumphant entry into the capital. Landing at their reſpective places, they were received by the acclamations of the people, and attended by crowds to London. Boughs were carried in this tumultuous proceſſion; the roads were

ſtrewed

ſtrewed with flowers, their ſufferings were aggravated, and their perſecutors reviled. All perſons who had been puniſhed for ſeditious libels during the foregoing adminiſtration, now recovered their liberty, and had damages given them upon thoſe who had decreed their puniſhment.

Grievances had, no doubt been endured during the laſt intermiſſion of parliaments; but the very complaints againſt them now became one of the greateſt grievances. So many were offered within doors, and petitioned againſt without, that the houſe was divided into above forty committees, charged each of them with the examination of its reſpective complaints. The torrent riſing to ſo dreadful and unexpected an height, deſpair ſeized all thoſe who were attached to monarchy; while the king himſelf ſaw, with amazement, the whole fabric of government overturned. "You have taken, ſaid he to "the parliament, the whole machine of go-"vernment to pieces; a practice frequent with "ſkilful artiſts, when they deſire to clear the "wheels from any ruſt which may have "grown upon them. The engine may be "reſtored to its former uſe and motions, "provided it be fitted up entire, ſo as not "a pin be wanting." But the commons, in their preſent temper, were much better adapted to deſtroy than to fit up; and having taken the machine aſunder, they ſoon found an expeditious ſet of workmen ready to ſtep in and take the whole buſineſs off their hands.

But

But in this univerſal rage for aboliſhing the former conſtitution, the parliament fell with great juſtice on the High-commiſſion court, and the court of Star-chamber. A bill unanimouſly paſſed the houſes to aboliſh both; and in them to annihilate the moſt dangerous articles in the king's prerogative. The firſt of thoſe, which was inſtituted for defending the church, had great power in all eccleſiaſtical matters; and the judges in that court were entirely arbitrary in whatever puniſhments, or fines, they thought proper to inflict. The Star-chamber had given force to the king's proclamations, and puniſhed ſuch as ventured to tranſgreſs them; but that being now taken away, his proclamations were of no effect, and might be oppoſed with impunity. Such were the tranſactions of this firſt ſeſſion of the long parliament; and though in ſome caſes they acted with anger, and in all with precipitation, yet had they ſtopped here, they would have deſerved gratitude from poſterity.

After this, the parliament ſeemingly adjourned; but a committee of both houſes, a thing altogether unprecedented, was appointed to ſit during the receſs, with very ample powers, and very little leſs than thoſe of the parliament in the plenitude of its authority. Pym was appointed chairman of the lower houſe; in this, further attempts were made for aſſuming the ſovereign executive powers, and publiſhing the ordinances of this committee, as ſtatutes enacted by all the branches of the legiſlature. In the mean time the king went to pay a viſit to his ſubjects in Scotland.

In

In the midſt of theſe troubles, the papiſts of Ireland fancied they had a convenient opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke. There was a gentleman called Roger Moore, who, though of a narrow fortune, was deſcended from a very ancient Iriſh family, and was very much celebrated among his countrymen for his valour and capacity. This man firſt formed the project of expelling the Engliſh, and aſſerting the independency of his country. The occaſion was favourable; the Engliſh, engaged in domeſtic animoſities, were unable to attend to a diſtant inſurrection; and thoſe of that nation, who reſided among them, were too feeble to reſiſt. Struck with theſe motives, Sir Phelim O'Neale entered into a conſpiracy; lord Macguire came into his deſigns, and ſoon after all the chiefs of the native Iriſh promiſed their concurrence.

Their plan was laid accordingly, which was, that Sir Phelim O'Neale, and the other conſpirators, ſhould all begin an inſurrection on one day throughout the provinces; ſhould deſtroy all the Engliſh, while lord Macguire, and Roger Moore, ſhould ſurpriſe the caſtle of Dublin. They had fixed on the approach of winter for this revolt, * the day was appointed, every thing in readineſs, the ſecret profoundly kept, and the conſpirators certain of ſucceſs. The earl of Leiceſter, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, was then in London. Sir William Parſons, and Sir John Borlace, the two lords juſtices, weak men, were in the moſt profound tranquility on the brink of ruin.

What

* Oct. 23.

What regard their general, Sir Phelim, had to mercy and truth may be judged from the following anecdote. In the beginning of the rebellion, he came with a party of horſe one night to the houſe of Mr. Tate, a gentleman who lived a few miles from Augher, who ſtood in a relation to him, which the Iriſh account exceeding ſacred, and ſaid, "Goſſip, you muſt go with me. I am afraid leſt ſome of my ſtraggling ſoldiers ſhould hurt you." Mrs. Tate ſaid, "nay, Sir Phelim, do not take him away. For I am near my time, and am very ill." He replied, "you fool, I take him away, that I may ſave him." After they were gone, ſhe ſaid to an old ſervant, "I am ſo uneaſy, I cannot ſtay here: I muſt go after my huſband." Finding her quite determined, he prepared an horſe, and ſhe was helped up behind him. An Iriſh maid ſervant followed. They went ſlowly toward Augher caſtle, and came thither about ſun riſe. The firſt thing ſhe ſaw there, was her huſband hanging upon a tree. She alighted, and being ſupported by her man on one ſide and her maid on the other, walked toward Sir Phelim, who was exerciſing his men. He ſaw her, and ſent a ſoldier, to order the Iriſh girl, to ſtand away from her. The girl ſaid, "no, I will die with my miſtreſs." On this, he ordered them to fire. She dropt down dead, and two children fell out of her womb.

Another inſtance out of a thouſand may illuſtrate the gratitude of theſe men. A gentlewoman of Killbeggan in the county of Weſt Meath, had

had taken a poor child, which ſhe brought up as her own. She was almoſt grown up, when a party of Iriſh broke into the houſe, and killed all the Engliſh they found in it. They were going away, when the girl called them back, and pointed to the bed. They looked under it, found the old woman, cut her throat, and threw her on the dunghill among the reſt.

The very day before the intended ſeizure of the caſtle of Dublin, the plot was diſcovered by one O'Conolly, an Iriſhman, but a proteſtant, to the juſtices, who warned all the proteſtant inhabitants of the city to prepare for their defence. Macguire was taken, but Moore eſcaped; and new informations being every hour added to thoſe already received, the project of a general inſurrection was no longer a ſecret.

But though the citizens of Dublin had juſt time enough to ſave themſelves from danger; the proteſtants diſperſed over the different parts of the country, were taken unprepared. O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulſter. The Iriſh, every where intermingled with the Engliſh, needed but a hint from their leaders and prieſts to maſſacre a people whom they hated for their religion, and envied for their riches. The inſurrections of a civilized people, are uſually marked with little cruelty; but the revolt of a ſavage nation, generally aims at extermination. The Iriſh accordingly reſolved to cut off all the proteſtants of the kingdom at a ſtroke; ſo that neither age, ſex, nor condition, received

pity

any pity. In ſuch indiſcriminate ſlaughter, neither former benefits, nor alliances, nor authority, were any protection; numberleſs were the inſtances of friends murdering their intimates, relations their kinſmen, and ſervants their maſters. In vain did flight ſave from the firſt aſſault; deſtruction, that had an extenſive ſpread, met the hunted victims at every turn. Not only death, but ſtudied cruelties were inflicted on the unhappy ſufferers; the very avarice of the revolters could not reſtrain their thirſt for blood, and they burned the inhabitants in their own houſes to increaſe their puniſhment. Several hundreds were driven upon a bridge; and from thence obliged, by theſe barbarians, to leap into the water where they were drowned. The Engliſh colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulſter; but in the other provinces the rebels pretended to act with greater humanity. But even there the proteſtants were driven from their houſes, to meet the ſeverity of the weather, without food or raiment, and numbers of them periſhed with the cold, which happened at that time to be peculiarly ſevere. By ſome computations, thoſe who periſhed by all theſe cruelties, amounted to an hundred and fifty or two hundred thouſand; but, by a moderate computation, they could not have been leſs than forty thouſand.

In the mean time the Engliſh Pale*, as it was called, conſiſting of the old Engliſh catholics, who had firſt come over, joining

* The *Pale* comprehends the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Lowth.

with the native Iriſh, a large army was formed, amounting to above twenty thouſand men, which threatned a total extermination of the Engliſh power. The king was at that time in Scotland, when he received the firſt accounts of this rebellion; and though he did all in his power to induce his ſubjects there to lend aſſiſtance to the proteſtant cauſe, yet he found them totally averſe to ſending any ſuccours into Ireland. Their aim was to oblige the parliament of England, with what ſuccours they could ſpare, and not to obey the injunctions of their ſovereign. They went ſtill farther, and had the aſſurance to impute a part of theſe dreadful maſſacres to the king's own contrivance. In fact, the rebels of Ireland did not fail to ſhew a royal patent, authoriſing their attempts; Sir Phelim O'Neale, having found a royal patent in lord Caulfield's houſe, whom he had murdered, he tore off the ſeal, and affixed it to a commiſſion which he had forged for himſelf.

The king took all the precautions in his power to ſhew his utter deteſtation of theſe bloody proceedings; and being ſenſible of his own inability to ſuppreſs the rebellion, he had once more recourſe to his Engliſh parliament, and craved their aſſiſtance for a ſupply. But here he found no hopes of aſſiſtance; many inſinuations were thrown out that he had himſelf fomented this rebellion, and no money could be ſpared for the extinction of diſtant dangers, when they pretended that the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

It

It was now the republican ſpirit began to appear without diſguiſe in the parliament; and that party, inſtead of attacking the faults of the king, reſolved to deſtroy monarchy. They had ſeen a republican ſyſtem of government lately eſtabliſhed in Holland; they began to wiſh for a ſimilar ſyſtem at home, and many productions of the preſs ſketched out the form. Perhaps theſe men were guided by honeſt motives, but certainly by wrong ones. In the compariſon between a republic and a limited monarchy, the balance entirely inclines to the latter, ſince a real republic never yet exiſted, except in ſpeculation; and that liberty which demagogues promiſe to their followers, is generally only ſought for themſelves. The aim in general of popular leaders, is rather to depreſs the great, than exalt the low; and in ſuch governments, the lower ranks of people are too commonly the moſt abject ſlaves. Again, in a republic, the number of tyrants are capable of ſupporting each other in their injuſtice; while in a monarchy there is one object, who, if he offends, is more eaſily puniſhable.

The leaders of the oppoſition began their operations by a reſolution to attack epiſcopacy, one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of the royal power; but firſt framed a remonſtrance, in which they ſummoned up all their former grievances. * Theſe they aſcribed to a regular ſyſtem of tyranny in the king, and aſſerted that they amounted to a total ſubverſion of the conſtitution. This, when drawn up by a tumultuous majority of the houſe, they ordered

* A. D. 1641.

to be printed and publiſhed, without being carried up, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to the houſe of peers, for their aſſent and approbation. The commons having thus endeavoured to render the king's adminiſtration univerſally odious, began upon the hierarchy. Their firſt meaſure was, by their own ſingle authority, to ſuſpend all the laws which had been made for the obſervance of public worſhip. They particularly forbad bowing at the name of Jeſus. They complained of the king's filling five vacant biſhoprics; and conſidered it as an inſult upon them, that he ſhould complete an order which they were reſolved to aboliſh. They accuſed thirteen biſhops of high treaſon, for enacting canons without the conſent of parliament; and endeavoured to prevail upon the houſe of peers to exclude all the prelates from their ſeats and votes. But the lords refuſed their concurrence to this law; and all ſuch as any way tended to the farther limitation of royal authority. The majority of the peers adhered to the king; and plainly foreſaw the depreſſion of the nobility as a neceſſary conſequence of the popular uſurpations on the crown. The commons murmured at their refuſal, mixed threats with their indignation, and began, for the firſt time, to inſinuate that the buſineſs of the ſtate could be carried on without them.

In order to intimidate the lords into their meaſures, the populace was let looſe to inſult and threaten them. Multitudes of people flocked every day to Weſtminſter, and inſulted the prelates, and ſuch lords as adhered to the crown

crown. Some ſeditious apprentices being ſeized and committed to priſon, the houſe of commons immediately ordered them to be ſet free. Encouraged by the countenance of the houſe, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and threw out inſolent menaces againſt the king himſelf. The rabble were now called Round-heads, from the manner of wearing their hair, and the gentlemen, Cavaliers. Theſe names afterwards diſtinguiſhed the partizans of either ſide, and ſerved ſtill more to divide the nation.

The fury of the commons, and alſo of the populace, did not fail to intimidate the biſhops; they ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering againſt them; and, to avert its effects, reſolved to attend the houſe no longer; but drew up a proteſt, which was ſigned by twelve of them, in which they declared, that being hindered by the populace from attending at the houſe of lords, they reſolved to go there no more till all commotions ſhould be appeaſed; proteſting, in the mean time, againſt all ſuch laws as ſhould be enacted in their abſence.

This receſſion of the biſhops from the houſe of lords was what the commons moſt ardently wiſhed for; and they ſeized the opportunity with pleaſure. An impeachment of high treaſon was immediately ſent up againſt them. In conſequence of this, they were by the commons excluded from parliament, and committed to cuſtody, no man in either houſe daring to ſpeak a word in their vindication.

This was a fatal blow to the royal intereſt; but it ſoon felt a much greater. Charles had

long ſtrove to ſatisfy the commons by the greatneſs of his conceſſions; but finding all his compliance only increaſed their demands, he could no longer contain. ‡ He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney general, to enter an accuſation of high treaſon in the houſe of peers againſt lord Kimbolton, one of the moſt popular men of his party, together with five commoners, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, Hollis, Hambden, Pym, and Strode. The articles were, that they had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom; to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impoſe on his ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority; that they had aimed at ſubverting the rights and being of parliaments, and had raiſed and countenanced tumults againſt the king. Men had ſcarce leiſure to wonder at the imprudence of this impeachment, when they were aſtoniſhed by another meaſure, ſtill more raſh. A ſerjeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the houſe the five members, and was ſent back without any poſitive anſwer. This was followed by a conduct ſtill more extraordinary. The next day the king himſelf was ſeen to enter the houſe of commons alone, advancing through the hall, while all the members ſtood up to receive him. The ſpeaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took poſſeſſion of it. Having ſeated himſelf, and looked round him for ſome time, he told the houſe that he was ſorry for the occaſion that forced him thither, that he was come in perſon to ſeize the members, whom he

‡ A. D. 1642.

he had accuſed of high treaſon, ſeeing they would not deliver them up to his ſergeant at arms. Addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he deſired to know whether any of them were in the houſe; but the ſpeaker falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak in that place, but as the houſe was pleaſed to direct him; and he aſked pardon for being able to give no other anſwer. He then ſat for ſome time to ſee if the accuſed were preſent; but they had eſcaped a few minutes before his entry. Thus diſappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he next proceeded, amidſt the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out, "Privilege! privilege!" to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them. The common council only anſwered his complaints with a contemptuous ſilence; and on his return, one of the populace, cried out, "To your tents, O Iſrael!" a watch word among the Jews, when they intended to abandon their princes.

When the commons were aſſembled the next day, they affected the greateſt terror, and paſſed an unanimous vote that the king had violated their privileges, and that they could not aſſemble again in the ſame place, till they ſhould have a guard for their ſecurity. They aſcribed the laſt meaſure of the king to the counſels of the papiſts, and the city was filled with groundleſs conſternation.

As the commons had artfully kept up their panic, in order to inflame the populace, and as the city was now only one ſcene of con-

confuſion, the king, afraid of expoſing himſelf to any freſh inſult from the populace, retired to Windſor, overwhelmed with grief, ſhame and remorſe. There he began to reflect on the raſhneſs of his proceedings; and too late reſolved to make ſome atonement. He therefore wrote to the parliament, informing them, that he deſiſted from his former proceedings againſt the accuſed members; and aſſured them, that upon all occaſions he would be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had rendered him hateful to the commons, and his preſent ſubmiſſion rendered him contemptible. And yet what better ſtep was it poſſible for him to take?

The commons had already ſtript the king of almoſt all his privileges; the biſhops were fled, the judges were intimidated: it now only remained that, after ſecuring the church and the law, they ſhould take poſſeſſion of the ſword alſo. The power of appointing governors, generals, and levying armies, was a prerogative of the crown ſtill remaining. Having, therefore firſt magnified their terrors of popery, they proceeded to petition that the Tower might be put into their hands, and that Hull, Portſmouth, and the fleet, ſhould be intruſted to perſons of their chuſing. Theſe were requeſts, the complying with which levelled all that remained of the ancient conſtitution; however, ſuch was the neceſſity of the times, that they were at firſt conteſted, and then granted. But every compliance only increaſed their demands; ſo

now

now the commons desired to have a militia, raised and governed by such officers and commanders as they should nominate, under pretext of securing them from the Irish papists*.

It was here that Charles first ventured to put a stop to his concessions; and that not by a refusal, but a delay. He was at that time at Dover, attending the queen, and the princess of Orange, who had thought prudent to leave the kingdom. He replied to the petition of the commons, that he had not now leisure to consider a matter of so great importance; and therefore would defer an answer till his return. But the commons were well aware, that though this was depriving him even of the shadow of power; yet they had now gone too far to recede, and therefore resolved to leave him no authority whatsoever. They alledged, that the dangers of the nation were such as could endure no delay; and unless the king speedily complied with their demands, they should be obliged, both for his safety and that of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses. In their remonstrances to the king, they desired to be permitted to command the army for an appointed time; which so exasperated him, that he exclaimed, "No, not for an hour." This peremptory refusal

* Nothing can be clearer, than that the House of Commons began the civil war, from the very beginning of their second session. And they continued it from that very time, till they made themselves masters of the kingdom. Long before king Charles was repelled from Hull, he was only a royal shadow.

refusal broke off all further treaty; and both sides now resolved to have recourse to arms.

Charles, taking the prince of Wales with him retired to York, where he found the people less infected with religious frenzy. He found his cause there backed by a more numerous party than he expected. The queen, who was in Holland, was making successful levies of men and ammunition, by selling the crown-jewels. But before war was openly declared, the shadow of a negotiation was carried on. The king offered proposals to the commons; and they, in return, submitted nineteen propositions to his consideration, which, if complied with, would have rendered him entirely subservient to their commands. Their import was, that the privy-council, the principal officers of state, the governor of the king's children, the commanders of the forts, his fleet, and army, should be all appointed by, and under the controul of parliament; that papists should be punished by their authority; that the church and liturgy should be reformed at their discretion; and that such members as had been displaced, should be restored. These proposals, which would have moulded the government into an aristocracy, were, happily for posterity, rejected by the king. "Should I grant these "demands, said he, in his reply, I might "be waited on bare-headed; I might have "my hand kissed, the title of majesty con-"tinued to me, and the king's authority sig-"nified by both houses of parliament, might "be still the style of your commands; I

"might

" might have ſwords and maces carried be-
" fore me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight
" of a crown and ſceptre (tho' even theſe
" twigs would not long flouriſh, when the
" ſtock upon which they grew was dead):
" but as to true and real power, I ſhould
" remain but the outſide, but the picture,
" but the ſign of a king." War on any terms was, therefore eſteemed preferable to ſuch an ignominious peace.

CHAP. IV.

NO period ſince England began could ſhew ſo many inſtances of courage, abilities, nd virtue, as the preſent fatal oppoſition cal-d forth into exertion. Now was the time hen talents of all kinds, were called from e lower ranks of life to diſpute for power nd pre-eminence. Both ſides, equally con-dent of the juſtice of their cauſe, appealed to od to judge of the rectitude of their inten-ons. The parliament was perſuaded that it ught for heaven, by aſſerting its regards for peculiar mode of worſhip: and the king was t leſs perſuaded that his claims were ſacred, ving ever conſidered them as of divine ori-nal.

Never

Never was conteſt more unequal than this ſeemed at firſt between the contending parties; the king being entirely deſtitute of every advantage. His revenue had been ſeized by parliament; all the ſea-port towns were in their hands, except Newcaſtle, and thus they were poſſeſſed of the cuſtoms; the fleet was at their diſpoſal; all magazines of arms and ammunition were ſeized for their uſe; and they had the wiſhes of the moſt active members of the nation.

To oppoſe this, the king had that acknowledged reverence which was paid to royalty. The greater part of the nobility adhered to him, as their diſtinctions muſt riſe or fall with the ſource of honour. Moſt of the men of education alſo, and the ancient gentry, ſtill conſidered loyalty as a virtue, and armed their tenants and ſervants in his cauſe. With theſe followers and hopes, he reſolved at length to take the field, and erected the royal ſtandard at Nottingham§, Auguſt 25th, having iſſued a proclamation, requiring all perſons to repair thither on that day, who were able to bear arms. But this produced ſo little effect, that when the royal ſtandard was ſet up, not a ſoul appeared, but a few trained bands.

Manifeſtoes on the one ſide and the other were now diſperſed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were univerſally divided between the two factions, of Cavaliers and Roundheads. The king, to bind himſelf by the moſt ſolemn engagements to his people

§ Indeed he had no other choice left, but either war or ſlavery.

made the following proteſtation before his whole army.

"I do promiſe, in the preſence of almighty "God, and as I hope for his bleſſing and pro- "tection, that I will, to the utmoſt of my "power, defend and maintain the true re- "formed proteſtant religion, eſtabliſhed in the "church of England; and, by the grace of "God, in the ſame will live and die.

"I deſire that the laws may be ever the "meaſure of my government, and that the "liberty and property of the ſubject may be "preſerved by them, with the ſame care as "my own juſt rights. And if it pleaſe God "by his bleſſing on this army, raiſed for my "neceſſary defence, to preſerve me from the "preſent rebellion, I do ſolemnly and faith- "fully promiſe, in the ſight of God, to main- "tain the juſt privileges and freedom of par- "liament, and to govern, to the utmoſt of "my power, by the known ſtatutes and cuſ- "toms of the kingdom; and particularly to "obſerve inviolably the laws to which I have "given my conſent in this parliament. "Mean while, if this emergence, and the "great neceſſity to which I am driven, beget "any violation of law, I hope it ſhall be "imputed by God and man to the authors "of this war, not to me, who have ſo ear- "neſtly laboured to preſerve the peace of the "kingdom.

"When I willingly fail in theſe particu- "lars, I ſhall expect no aid or relief from "man, nor any protection from above. But "in this reſolution I hope for the chearful

"assistance of all good men, and for the "blessing of heaven."

The sincerity with which this speech was delivered, and the justice of its contents, served to strengthen the king's cause. At first he appeared in a very low condition; besides the train-bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together three hundred infantry. His cavalry, which composed his chief strength, exceeded not eight hundred, and were very ill provided with arms. However, he was gradually reinforced; but not being in a condition to face his enemies, he thought it prudent to retire by slow marches to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, in order to countenance the levies which his friends were making in those quarters.

In the mean time, the parliament were not remiss in preparations on their side. They had a magazine of arms at Hull, and had appointed Sir John Hotham governor of that place. Charles had some time before presented himself before that town, but was refused admission. The forces also, which had been every where raised on pretence of the service of Ireland were now openly used by the parliament against him; and the command given to the earl of Essex, a bold man, who rather desired to see monarchy abridged, than destroyed. In London, no less than four thousand men were inlisted in one day; and the parliament voted a declaration, which they required every member to subscribe, that they would live and die with their general.

Order

Orders were alſo iſſued out for loans of money and plate, which were to defend the king, and both houſes of parliament; for they ſtill preſerved this ſtyle. This brought immenſe quantities of plate to the treaſury; and ſo great was men's ardour in the cauſe, that there was more than they could find room for. By theſe means they found themſelves in a ſhort time at the head of ſixteen thouſand men; and the earl of Eſſex led them towards Northampton againſt the king.

The army of the royaliſts was not ſo great as that of Eſſex; but it was better diſciplined and conducted. The two ſons of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, prince Rupert and prince Maurice, offered their ſervices to the king, and were gladly accepted. A ſlight advantage gained by prince Rupert over colonel Sandys, in the beginning, gave the army reſolution to hazard a battle. Yet ſo little were both armies ſkilled in the arts of war, that they were within ſix miles of each other before they knew it: nay, they had been ten days within twenty miles of each other, without knowing it.

Edge-Hill was the firſt place where the two armies met, and the country was firſt drenched in civil ſlaughter. It was a dreadful ſight to ſee above thirty-thouſand of the braveſt men in the world, inſtead of employing their courage abroad, turning it againſt each other, while the deareſt friends, and the neareſt kinſmen embraced oppoſite ſides, and prepared to bury their private regards in factious hatred. In the beginning of the engagement,

Sir Faithful Forteſcue, who had levied a troop for the Iriſh war, but had been obliged to ſerve in the parliamentary army, deſerted to the royaliſts; and ſo intimidated the parliamentary forces, that the whole body of cavalry fled. The right wing of their army followed the example; but the victors too eagerly purſuing, Eſſex's body of reſerve wheeled upon the rear of the purſuers, and made great havock among them. After the royaliſts had a little recovered from their ſurprize, they made a vigorous ſtand; and both ſides, for a time ſtood gazing at each other, without ſufficient courage to renew the attack. They lay all night under arms, and next morning found themſelves in ſight of each other. This had been the time for the king to have ſtruck a deciſive blow: he loſt the opportunity, and both ſides ſeparated with equal loſs. Five thouſand men are ſaid to have been found dead on the field of battle.

It would be tedious to enter into the marchings and countermarchings of theſe undiſciplined and ill conducted armies: war was a new trade to the Engliſh, as they had not ſeen an hoſtile engagement in the iſland for near a century before. The queen came to reinforce the royal party; ſhe had brought ſoldiers and ammunition from Holland, and immediately departed to furniſh more. But the parliament, who knew its own ſtrength, was no way diſcouraged. Their demands ſeemed to increaſe in proportion to their loſſes; and as they were repreſſed in the field, they grew more haughty in the cabinet.

Such

Such governors as gave up their fortreſſes to the king, were attainted of high treaſon. It was in vain for the king to ſend propoſals, as he conſtantly did after any ſucceſs; this only raiſed their pride and their animoſity. But though this deſire in the king to make peace with his ſubjects was the higheſt encomium on his humanity, yet his long negociations, one of which he carried on at Oxford, were faulty as a warrior. He waſted that time in altercation and treaty, which he ſhould have employed in vigorous exertions in the field.

However, his firſt campaign upon the whole, wore a favourable aſpect. One victory followed after another; Cornwall was reduced to peace and obedience under the king: a victory was gained over the parliamentarians at Stratton Hill, in Devonſhire, another at Roundaway Down, about two miles from the Devizes. Briſtol was beſieged and taken; and Glouceſter was beſieged: the battle of Newbury was favourable to the royal cauſe, and great hopes of ſucceſs were formed from an army in the North, raiſed by the marquis of Newcaſtle.

* The next year, the two braveſt and greateſt men of their reſpective parties were killed; as if it was intended, by the kindneſs of Providence, that they ſhould be exempted from ſeeing the miſeries which enſued. Theſe were John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, lord Falkland.

In an incurſion made by prince Rupert to within about two miles of the enemies quarters, a great booty was obtained. This the parliamentarians attempted to reſcue; and

* A. D. 1643.

Hampden at their head, overtook the royaliſts on Chalgrave Field‡. As he was the firſt to enter into the thickeſt of the battle, he was ſhot in the ſhoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broke. Some days after, he died in great pain; nor could his whole party, had their army met a total overthrow, have been caſt into greater conſternation. Even Charles felt for his diſaſter, and offered his own ſurgeon to aſſiſt him. Hampden, had gained by his inflexible integrity, the eſteem even of his enemies. To theſe he added affability in converſation, temper, art, eloquence in debate, and penetration in couſel. But the candour and moderation for which he was at firſt diſtinguiſhed, had given way to a violent animoſity, againſt the antient conſtitution, and the perſon of his ſovereign. He was become paſſionate and even ferocious, and diſcouraged all overtures of accommodation.

Yet Falkland was ſtill a greater loſs, and a greater character. He added to Hampden's ſevere principles, a politeneſs and elegance, but then beginning to be known in England. He had boldly withſtood the king's pretenſions, while he ſaw him making a bad uſe of his power; but when he perceived the deſign of the parliament, to overturn the religion and the conſtitution of his country, he changed his ſide, and ſtedfaſtly attached himſelf to the crown. From the beginning of the civil war, his natural chearfulneſs and vivacity forſook him;

‡ The very place where he firſt raiſed the militia againſt the king, in the beginning of the rebellion! —Was this by chance?

him; he became melancholy, ſad, pale, and negligent of his perſon. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, and preparing for the battle of Newbury, he appeared deſirous of terminating his life, ſince he could not compoſe the miſeries of his country. Still anxious for his country alone, he dreaded the too proſperous ſucceſs of his own party, as much as that of the enemy; and he profeſſed that its miſeries had broken his heart. His uſual cry among his friends, after a deep ſilence, and frequent ſighs, was, Peace! Peace! He now ſaid, upon the morning of the engagement, that he was weary of the times, and ſhould leave them before night. He was ſhot by a muſquet-ball in the belly; and his body was next morning found among an heap of ſlain. His writings, his elegance, his uprightneſs and his courage, deſerved ſuch a death of glory.

The king, that he might make preparations during the winter for the enſuing campaign, and oppoſe the deſigns of the Weſtminſter parliament, called one at Oxford; and this was the firſt time that England ſaw two parliaments ſitting at the ſame time. His houſe of peers was pretty full; his houſe of commons conſiſted of about an hundred and forty, which amounted to not above half of the other houſe of commons. From this ſhadow of a parliament he received ſome ſupplies, after which it was prorogued, and never after aſſembled.

In the mean time the parliament was equally active. They paſſed an ordinance, commanding

manding all the inhabitants of London and its neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the ſupport of the public cauſe. But what was much more effectual, the Scotch led a ſtrong army to their aſſiſtance. They levied an army of fourteen thouſand men in the eaſt, under the earl of Mancheſter; they had an army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex; another of nearly the ſame force, under Sir William Waller. Theſe were ſuperior to any force the king could bring into the field; and were well appointed with ammunition, proviſion, and pay.

Hoſtilities, which even during the winter had not been diſcontinued, were renewed in ſpring with their uſual fury, and ſerved to deſolate the kingdom without any deciſive victory. But ſeveral counties petitioned for peace; and all the wiſe and good were earneſt in the cry. What particularly deſerves remark, was an attempt of the women of London; who, to the number of two or three thouſand, went in a body to the houſe of commons, earneſtly demanding a peace. "Give us thoſe traitors, ſaid they, that are againſt a peace; give them, that we may tear them in pieces." The guards found ſome difficulty in quelling this inſurrection, and one or two women loſt their lives in the fray.

‡ The firſt deciſive battle, was that of Marſton-Moor. The Scotch and Parliamentarian army had joined and were beſieging York; when prince Rupert, joined by the marquis

‡ A. D. 1644.

marquis of Newcaſtle, determined to raiſe the ſiege. Both ſides drew up on Marſton-Moor, to the number of fifty thouſand, and the victory ſeemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the left wing of the royaliſts, was oppoſed by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and charged their right wing with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were totally routed. But mean time Cromwell, at the head of their left wing, entirely defeated the right of the royaliſts: and then attacked prince Rupert's wing, careleſſly returning from the purſuit, with ſuch fury, that they were quite broken and diſperſed. So that the parliament gained a compleat victory, with all the artillery, baggage and ammunition.

In the latter end of the year, a treaty was begun at Uxbridge, which, like all others, came to nothing. The puritans demanded a a total abolition of the epiſcopacy, and all church ceremonies; and this Charles could not in conſcience agree to. He eſteemed biſhops as eſſential to the chriſtian church; and thought himſelf bound, by ſacred ties, to defend them. The parliament was as obſtinately bent upon removing them; and began with the foremoſt of the number.

William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as we have already ſeen, had been impriſoned in the tower at the ſame with Strafford; and he had patiently endured ſo long a confinement, without being brought to any trial. He was now accuſed of high treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors.

The

The charge of popery likewiſe, which his life, and afterwards his death belied, was urged againſt him. In his defence, he ſpoke ſeveral hours, with that courage which is the reſult of innocence and integrity. The lords, who were his judges, appeared willing to acquit him; but the commons, his accuſers, finding how the trial was likely to go, paſſed an ordinance for his execution, and terrified the lords into conſent. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion; all the reſt, either from ſhame or fear, did not appear. When brought to the ſcaffold, this venerable prelate, without any terror, but in the uſual tone of his exhortations from the pulpit, made the people a long ſpeech. He told them, that he had examined his heart; and thanked God that he found no ſins there, which deſerved the death he was going to ſuffer. The king, he ſaid, had been traduced by ſome, as labouring to introduce popery; but he believed him as ſound a proteſtant as any man in the kingdom; and as for parliaments, though he diſliked the conduct of one or two, yet he never deſigned to change the laws of his country, or the proteſtant religion. After he had prayed for a few minutes, the executioner ſevered his head at a blow. It is a melancholy conſideration, that in theſe times, the beſt men were thoſe on either ſide who chiefly ſuffered.

The death of Laud was followed by a total alteration of the church-diſcipline. The Liturgy was, by a public act aboliſhed the day he died, as if he had been the only ob-

obſtacle to its removal. The church of England was in all reſpects brought to a conformity to the preſbyterian eſtabliſhment; while the citizens of London, and the Scotch army, gave public thanks for ſo happy an alteration.

About this time, Sir John Hotham and his ſon, captain Hotham, were tried, condemned, and executed, for an attempt to deliver up Hull to the king. What a ſurprizing inſtance of divine juſtice! So was he well requited by his merciful maſters, for kindling the war, by ſhutting him out before!

The total abolition of the reformed religion, as eſtabliſhed by queen Elizabeth, ſeemed at firſt to promiſe vigour and conſiſtence to the counſels of the parliamentarians. But ſuch is the nature of man, that if he does not find, he makes oppoſition. From the time the republicans were apparently united, and ranked under one denomination of preſbyterians, they began again to divide into freſh parties, each profeſſing different views and intereſts. One part of the houſe was compoſed of Preſbyterians, ſtrictly ſo called; the other, though a minority, of Independents: a new ſect that had lately been introduced.

The difference between theſe two ſects would be hardly worth mentioning, did not their religious opinions influence their political conduct. The church of England, as we have ſeen, had appointed biſhops of clerical ordination, and a book of common prayer. The preſbyterians exclaimed againſt both;

both; they were for having the church governed by clergymen elected by the people, and prayers made without premeditation. The independents went ſtill farther; they excluded all the clergy; they maintained that all congregations were independent on each other, and that every man might pray in public, exhort his audience, and explain the ſcriptures. Their political ſyſtem kept pace with their religious. Not contented with reducing the king to a firſt magiſtrate, which was the aim of the preſbyterians, this ſect aſpired at the abolition not only of all monarchy, but of all ſubordination. Poſſeſſed with an high idea of their own judgment, both in religion and politics, they gave way to a ſurly pride, which is ever the reſult of narrow manners and ſolitary thinking.

Theſe were a body of men that were now growing into conſideration; their apparent ſanctity, their natural courage excited by enthuſiaſm, and their unceaſing perſeverance, began to work conſiderable effects; and tho' they were out-numbered in the houſe of commons, they formed a majority in the army.

The royaliſts laughed at this fanaticiſm, without being ſenſible how much reaſon they had to apprehend its conſequences. The forces of the king were united by much feebler ties; and the licence among them, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had riſen to a dangerous height, rendering them as formidable to their friends as their enemies. To increaſe this unpopularity, the king finding the parliament of Scotland, as well as that of

England

England declaring againſt him thought proper to make a truce with the papiſts of Ireland, in order to bring over the Engliſh forces who ſerved in that kingdom. With theſe troops he alſo received ſome of the native Iriſh into his ſervice, who ſtill retained their fierceneſs and barbarity. This gave the parliament a plauſible opportunity of upbraiding him with taking papiſts into his ſervice, and gave a colour to the ancient calumny of his having excited them to rebel. Indeed they rather increaſed the hatred of his ſubjects, than added to the ſtrength of his army. They were routed by Fairfax, one of the generals of the parliament army; and though they threw down their arms, were ſlaughtered without mercy.

Theſe misfortunes were ſoon ſucceeded by another. Charles, who had now retired to Oxford, found himſelf at the head of a turbulent, ſeditious army, who, wanting pay, were ſcarcely ſubject to controul; while, on the other hand, the parliamentarians were well ſupplied and paid, and held together from principle. † The parliament, to give them an example of diſintereſtedneſs, paſſed an act, called the *Self-denying ordinance*. They reſolved, leſt it ſhould be ſuggeſted that their intent was to make themſelves maſters, that no member of their houſe ſhould have a command in the army. The former generals were therefore changed; the earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, and Mancheſter, gave up their commiſſions; and Fairfax, now appointed general with Cromwell, (who found means to keep

† A. D. 1645.

at once his ſeat and his commiſſion,) new modelled the army. This, which might at firſt have ſeemed to weaken their forces, gave them new ſpirit; and the ſoldiers, become more confident in their new commanders, were irreſiſtible.

Never was a more ſingular army aſſembled. The officers exerciſed the office of chaplains; and, during the intervals of action, inſtructed their troops by ſermons, prayers, and exhortations. The private ſoldiers, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the holy ſcriptures, and in religious conferences. When marching to the field of battle, the hymn and the ejaculation, mixed their notes with thoſe of the trumpet. An army thus actuated became invincible.

The well-diſputed battle which decided the fate of Charles, was * fought at Naſeby, a village in Northamptonſhire. The main body of the royal army was commanded by lord Aſtley, prince Rupert led the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king himſelf headed the body of reſerve. On the oppoſite ſide, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body; Cromwell led on the right wing, and Ireton, his ſon-in-law, the left. Prince Rupert attacked the left wing with his uſual impetuoſity: they were broke and purſued as far as the village; but he loſt time in attempting to make himſelf maſter of their artillery. Cromwell, in the mean time, was equally ſucceſsful on his ſide, and broke thro' the enemies' horſe after a very obſtinate reſiſtance. While theſe were thus engaged, the infantry

* June 14.

infantry on both ſides maintained the conflict with equal ardour; but in ſpite of the efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, their battalions began to give way. But it was now that Cromwell returned with his victorious forces, and charged the king's infantry in flank with ſuch vigour, that a total rout began to enſue. By this time prince Rupert had rejoined the king, and the ſmall body of reſerve; but his troops, though victorious, could not be brought to a ſecond charge. They were at all times ungovernable; but they were now intimidated; for the parliamentarians having recovered from the firſt ſhock, ſtood ready in order of battle to receive them. The king would have charged them at the head of his reſerve; but the earl of Carnwarth, who rode by his majeſty's ſide, ſeizing the bridle of his horſe, turned him round, ſaying with a loud oath, "Will you go upon your death in an * inſtant?" The troops ſeeing this motion, wheeled to the right, and rode off in ſuch confuſion, that they could not be rallied during the reſt of the day. The king perceiving the battle wholly loſt, was obliged to abandon the field to his enemies, who took all his cannon, baggage, and above five thouſand priſoners.

This fatal blow the king never recovered; his army was diſperſed, and the conquerors made as many captives as they thought proper. Among the other ſpoils taken, the king's cabinet of letters was ſeized, in which was

* Who can account for this? It does not appear to have been treachery. Was he not ſeized with a ſudden, perhaps preternatural, panic?

contained all his private correſpondence with the queen. Theſe were ſhortly after publiſhed by the command of the parliament, who took a brutal pleaſure in ridiculing all thoſe tender effuſions, which were never drawn up for the public eye.

The battle of Naſeby put the parliamentarians in poſſeſſion of almoſt all the ſtrong cities of the kingdom: Briſtol, Bridgewater, Cheſter, Sherborn and Bath. Exeter was beſieged; and all the king's troops in the weſtern counties being entirely diſperſed, Fairfax preſſed the place, and it ſurrendered at diſcretion. The king's intereſts ſeemed going to ruin on every quarter. The Scotch army, which, as has been ſaid, took part with the parliament, having made themſelves maſters of Carliſle, after an obſtinate ſiege, marched ſouth and laid ſiege to Hereford. Another engagement followed between the king and the parliamentarians, in which his forces were put to the rout by colonel Jones, a thouſand of his men made priſoners, and five hundred ſlain. Thus ſurrounded, harraſſed on every ſide, he retreated to Oxford, which in all conditions of his fortune had held ſteady; and there he reſolved to offer new terms to his victorious purſuers.

‡ Nothing could be more affecting than the king's ſituation at Oxford. Saddened by his late melancholy diſaſters, impreſſed with the apprehenſions of ſuch as hung over him, harraſſed by the murmurs of thoſe who followed his cauſe, and ſtung with ſorrow for his incapacity to relieve them. He now was

‡ A. D. 1646.

was willing to grant the parliament any terms. He ſent them repeated meſſages to this purpoſe; but they never deigned to make him the leaſt reply. At laſt, after reproaching him with the blood ſpilt during the war, they told him that they were preparing ſome bills, to which if he would conſent, they would then be able to judge of his pacific inclinations.

In the mean time, Fairfax was approaching with a powerful army, and taking the proper meaſures of laying ſiege to Oxford, which promiſed an eaſy ſurrender. To be led in triumph by his inſolent ſubjects, was what Charles juſtly abhorred; and every inſult was to be dreaded from the ſoldiery. In this extremity he embraced a meaſure, which, in any other ſituation, might lie under the imputation of imprudence. He reſolved to give himſelf up to the Scotch army, who had never teſtified ſuch implacable animoſity againſt him.

That he might the better conceal his deſign from the people of Oxford, orders were given at every gate of the city, for allowing three perſons to paſs. || In the night, the king, accompanied by one doctor Hudſon, and Mr. Aſhburnham, took the road towards London, travelling as Aſhburnham's ſervant. At laſt, after paſſing through many bye-ways, he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark, * and diſcovered himſelf to lord Leven, the Scotch general.

The Scotch who had given him general aſſurances of protection, now ſeemed greatly

|| April 27. * May 5.

ſurpriſed. Inſtead of beſtowing a thought on his intereſts, they inſtantly entered into a conſultation upon their own. The commiſſioners of their army ſent up an account of the king's arrival to the parliament, and declared, that his coming was altogether uninvited and unexpected. In the mean time they prevailed upon the king to give directions for ſurrendering all his garriſons to the parliament. In return for this condeſcenſion, they treated him with very long ſermons among the eccleſiaſtics, and with the moſt cautious reſerve, but very different from reſpect, among the officers. The preachers indeed inſulted him from the pulpit; and one of them, after reproaching him to his face with his miſconduct, ordered that pſalm to be ſung, which begins,

"Why doſt thou, Tyrant, boaſt thyſelf,
Thy wicked deeds to praiſe?"

The king ſtood up, and called for that Pſalm which begins with theſe words:

"Have mercy, Lord, on me I pray,
For men would me devour."

The audience accordingly ſung this Pſalm in compaſſion to majeſty in diſtreſs.

The parliament being informed of the king's captivity, immediately entered into a treaty with the Scotch about delivering him up. The Scotch had, from their firſt entrance into England, been allowed pay by the parliament; much of this, however, remained unpaid, and much more was claimed by the Scotch than

was

was really due. Nevertheleſs they now ſaw this a convenient time for inſiſting on their arrears; and they reſolved to make the king the inſtrument by which this money was to be obtained. After various debates upon this head between them and the parliament, in which they pretended to great honour, and inſiſted upon many punctilios, they agreed, that upon payment of four hundred thouſand pounds they would deliver up the king; and this was chearfully complied with. ‡ An action ſo atrocious may be palliated, but can never be defended; they returned home laden with plunder, and the reproaches of all good men.

From this period, to the deſpotic government of Cromwell, the conſtitution was convulſed with all the agitations of faction, guilt, ignorance, and enthuſiaſm. The kingly power being laid low, the parliament aſſumed the rein; but they were ſoon to ſubmit to the military power, which, like all democracies, was turbulent, tranſient, feeble, and bloody.

The king being delivered by the Scotch to the parliamentary commiſſioners, was conducted under a guard to Holmby Caſtle, in Northamptonſhire. They treated him with the moſt rigorous ſeverity; diſmiſſing all his ancient ſervants, debarring him from all viſits, and cutting off all communication with his friends and family.

The civil war was now over; and the parliament had no enemy to fear, except thoſe very troops by which they had extended their over-

‡ Jan. 30. A. D. 1647.

overgrown authority. But in proportion as the terror of the king's power diminiſhed, the diviſions between the independents and the preſbyterians increaſed. The majority in the houſe were preſbyterians; but the majority of the army were ſtaunch independents. At the head of this ſect was Cromwell, who ſecretly directed its operations.

Oliver Cromwell was the ſon of a private gentleman of Huntingdonſhire; but being the ſon of a ſecond brother, he inherited a very ſmall paternal fortune. He had been ſent to Cambridge; but his inclinations not turning to literature, he was remarkable only for the profligacy of his conduct, and the waſting his paternal fortune. But by hearing the puritan miniſters, from being one of the moſt debauched men in the kingdom, he became the moſt rigid and abſtemious. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. Not long after he determined to go over and ſettle in New England; but was hindered by the king's ordinance to the contrary. Being choſen member for the town of Cambridge, in the long parliament; he ſeemed at firſt to poſſeſs no talents for oratory, his perſon being ungraceful, his dreſs ſlovenly, his elocution homely, tedious, obſcure, and embarraſſed. He made up, however, by zeal and perſeverance, what he wanted in natural powers; and being endowed with unſhaken intrepidity, much diſſimulation, and a thorough perſuaſion of the rectitude of his cauſe, he roſe, through the gradations

dations of preferment, to the poſt of lieutenant-general under Fairfax. And in reality, he poſſeſſed the ſupreme command over the whole army.

Soon after the retreat of the Scotch, the preſbyterian party, ſeeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diſmiſſing a conſiderable part of the army, and ſending the reſt to Ireland. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed the army were as unwilling to diſband, as to be led over into another country. Cromwell took care to inſpire them with an horror of either. Inſtead, therefore, of preparing to diſband, they reſolved to petition; and they began by deſiring an indemnity, for any illegal actions, which they might have committed during the war. This the commons treated with great ſeverity; they voted, that this petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, to obſtruct the relief of the kingdom of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it, as enemies to the ſtate and diſturbers of the public peace.

The army now began to conſider themſelves as a body diſtinct from the commonwealth; and complained, that they had ſecured the general tranquility, while they were at the ſame time, deprived of the privileges of Engliſhmen. ‡ In oppoſition, therefore, to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed, compoſed of the officers and common ſoldiers of each regiment. The principal officers formed a council to repreſent the body of peers; the ſoldiers elected two men

‡ May 16.

men out of each company to repreſent the houſe of commons, and theſe were called the Agitators of the army. Cromwell took care to be one of the number, and thus contrived an eaſy method of conducting and promoting the ſedition of the army.

This fierce aſſembly having debated for a very ſhort time, declared, that they found many grievances to be redreſſed; and began by ſpecifying ſuch as they deſired to be ſpeedily removed. The very ſame conduct which had formerly been uſed by the parliament againſt their ſovereign, was now put in practice by the army againſt the parliament. As the commons granted every requeſt, the agitators roſe in their demands; theſe accuſed the army of mutiny and ſedition; the army retorted the charge, and alledged, that the king had been depoſed, only to make way for their uſurpations.

The unhappy king, in the mean time, continued a priſoner at Holmby caſtle; and as his countenance might add ſome authority, Cromwell, who conducted all the meaſures of the army, reſolved to ſeize his perſon. Accordingly a party of fifty horſe appeared at Holmby caſtle, June 3. at break of day, under the command of one Joyce, who had been originally a taylor; but was now a cornet. Without any oppoſition, he and three troopers entered the king's apartment, armed with piſtols, and told him that he muſt go with him. Whither? ſaid the king. To the army, replied Joyce. By what warrant? aſked the king. Joyce pointed to his piſtol. Without much

delay

delay he went into his coach, and was conducted to the army, who were haſtening to their rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge. The next day Cromwell arrived among them, where he was received with acclamations of joy, and inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command.

It was now that the commons perceived a ſettled deſign in the army to preſcribe laws to their employers. But it was too late to reſiſt; the army, with Cromwell at their head, advanced with precipitation, and arrived in a few days at St Alban's; ſo that the commons now began to think of temporizing. The declaration, by which they had voted the military petitioners enemies to the ſtate, was recalled, and erazed from their journal book. But ſubmiſſion too was vain; the army roſe in their demands, in proportion as thoſe demands were gratified, until at laſt they entirely threw off the maſk, and claimed a right of modelling the whole government.

But as too precipitate an aſſumption of authority might appear invidious, Cromwell began by accuſing eleven members of the houſe as guilty of high treaſon. The members accuſed were the leaders of the preſbyterian party, the very men who had preſcribed ſuch rigorous meaſures to the king. As they were the leading men in the houſe, the commons were willing to protect them; but the army inſiſting on their diſmiſſion, || they voluntarily left the houſe, rather than be compelled to withdraw.

At

|| June 25.

At laſt, the citizens of London, who had been ever foremoſt in ſedition, began to open their eyes, and to perceive that the conſtitution was totally overturned. They ſaw an oppreſſive parliament now ſubjected to a more oppreſſive army; they found their religion aboliſhed, their king a captive, and no hopes of redreſs but from another ſcene of ſlaughter. In this exigence, therefore, the common-council aſſembled the militia of the city; the works were manned, and a manifeſto publiſhed, aggravating the hoſtile intentions of the army. Finding that the houſe of commons, in compliance with the requeſt of the army, had voted that the city militia ſhould be diſbanded, the multitude roſe, beſieged the door of the houſe, and obliged them to reverſe that vote.

In this manner was this wretched houſe intimidated, obliged at one time to obey the army, at another, to comply with the clamours of the rabble. This aſſembly was, in conſequence, divided into parties, one part ſiding with the citizens; while the minority, with the two ſpeakers at their head, were for encouraging the army. In ſuch an univerſal confuſion, it is not to be expected that any thing leſs than a ſeparation of the parties could take place; and accordingly the two ſpeakers, with ſixty two members, retired from the houſe, and threw themſelves under the protection of the army, then at Hounſlow-heath. They were received with ſhouts and acclamations, their integrity was extolled, and the whole body of the ſoldiery, a formidable force

of

of twenty-thouſand men, now moved forward to reinſtate them in their former ſeats.

In the mean time, that part of the houſe that was left behind, reſolved to act with vigour. § They choſe new ſpeakers, they gave orders for inliſting troops, they ordered the trainbands to man the lines; and the whole city boldly reſolved to reſiſt the invaſion. But this reſolution only held while the enemy was thought at a diſtance; for when Fairfax with the army appeared, all was obedience and ſubmiſſion; * the gates were opened to the general, who attended the two ſpeakers, and the reſt of the members, to their habitations. The eleven impeached members were expelled, and moſt of them retired to the continent. The mayor, ſheriff, and three aldermen, were ſent to the Tower; ſeveral citizens, and officers of militia, were committed to priſon, and the lines about the city were levelled to the ground. The command of the Tower was given to Fairfax, the general; and the parliament ordered him their hearty thanks for having diſobeyed their commands.

It now only remained to diſpoſe of the king, who had been ſent by the army a priſoner to Hampton-Court. ‡ The independent army, at the head of whom was Cromwell, on one hand; and the preſbyterians in the name of either houſe, on the other hand, treated ſeparately with him in private. He had at one time even hopes, that in theſe ſtruggles for power, he might have been choſen mediator in the diſpute; and he expected

§ July 7. * Aug. 6. ‡ Aug. 26.

that the kingdom, at laſt ſenſible of the miſeries of anarchy, would ſettle into its former tranquil conſtitution. However, in all his miſeries and doubts, though at firſt led about with the army, and afterwards kept a priſoner by them at Hampton, ſuch was his admirable equality of temper, that no difference was perceived in his countenance and behaviour. Though a captive in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſtill ſupported the dignity of a monarch; and he never one moment ſunk from the conſciouſneſs of his own ſuperiority.

At firſt he was treated with ſome marks of diſtinction; he was permitted to converſe with his old ſervants, his chaplains were allowed to attend him, and celebrate divine ſervice their own way. But the moſt exquiſite pleaſure he enjoyed was in the company of his children, with whom he had ſeveral interviews. The meeting on theſe occaſions was ſo pathetic, that Cromwell himſelf, who was once preſent, could not help being moved; he was heard to declare, that he had never beheld ſuch an affecting ſcene before; and we muſt do juſtice to this man's feelings, as he was himſelf a tender father.

But thoſe flattering inſtances of reſpect and ſubmiſſion were of no long continuance. As ſoon as the army had gained a complete victory over the houſe of commons, the independents began to abate in their expreſſions of duty and reſpect. The king was now more ſtrictly guarded: they would hardly allow his domeſtics to converſe with him in private, and ſpies were employed to mark all

his words and actions. He was every hour threatened with falſe dangers of Cromwell's contrivance; by which he was taught to fear for his perſonal ſafety. The creatures of that cunning man were ſedulouſly employed in repreſenting to him the danger of his ſituation. Theſe at length prevailed, and Charles reſolved to withdraw himſelf from the army. Cromwell conſidered, that if he ſhould eſcape the kingdom, there would be then a theatre open to his ambition; if he ſhould be apprehended, the late attempt would apologize for any ſucceeding ſeverity.

Early in the evening the king retired to his chamber, on pretence of being indiſpoſed; and about an hour after midnight, he went down the back-ſtairs, attended by Aſhburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of his bed-chamber. Sir John Berkeley waited for him at the garden-gate with horſes, which they inſtantly mounted, and travelling through the foreſt all night, arrived at Tichfield, the ſeat of the earl of Southampton. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone towards the ſhore; but a ſhip, which Aſhburnham had promiſed to be in readineſs, was not to be ſeen. At Tichfield he deliberated with his friends upon his next excurſion, and they adviſed him to croſs over to the iſle of Wight, where Hammond was governor; who, though a creature of Cromwell's, was yet a nephew of doctor Hammond, the king's chaplain. To this inauſpicious protector it was reſolved to have recourſe; Aſhburnham and Berkeley were ſent before to exact a promiſe from this officer, that if he would not

protect the king, he would not detain him. Hammond seemed surprized at their demand; expressed his inclination to serve his majesty, but at the same time alledged his duty to his employers. He therefore attended the king's gentlemen to Tichfield, with a guard of soldiers, and staid in a lower apartment while Ashburnham went up to the king's chamber. Charles no sooner understood that Hammond was in the house with a body of troops, than he exclaimed, "O Jack! thou hast undone me!" Ashburnham shed a flood of tears, and offered to go down and dispatch the governor; but the king repressed his ardour. When Hammond came into his presence, he repeated his professions of regard; Charles submitted to his fate; and, without further delay, § attended him to Carisbrook castle, in the isle of Wight.

While the king continued in this forlorn situation, the parliament, new modelled by the army, was every day growing more feeble and factious. Cromwell, on the other hand, was strengthening the army, and taking every precaution to repress any tendency to factious division among them. Nor were his fears without cause; for had it not been for the quickness of his penetration, boldness and activity, the whole army would have been thrown into a state of ungovernable frenzy.

‡ Among the independents, who, in general, were for having no ecclesiastical subordination, a set of men grew up called *Levellers*, who disallowed all subordination whatsoever, and

§ Nov. 11. ‡ A. D. 1648.

and declared that they would have no other chaplain, king, or general, but Chriſt. They declared that all degrees and ranks ſhould be levelled, and an exact partition of property eſtabliſhed in the nation. This ferment ſpread through the army; and as it was a doctrine well ſuited to the poverty of the daring ſoldiery, it promiſed every day to become more fatal. Several petitions were preſented, urging the juſtice of a partition, and threatening vengeance in caſe of refuſal.

Cromwell ſaw that he was upon the point of loſing all the fruits of his ſchemes and dangers, and dreaded this new faction ſtill more, as they turned his own principles againſt himſelf. Finding all at ſtake, he reſolved, by one reſolute blow, to diſperſe the faction, or periſh in the attempt. Having intimation that the levellers were to meet at a certain place, he unexpectedly appeared, at the head of his red regiment, which had been hitherto invincible. He demanded, in the name of God, what theſe meetings and murmurings meant: he expoſtulated with them upon the conſequence of their precipitate ſchemes, and deſired them immediately to depart. But inſtead of obeying, they returned an inſolent anſwer; wherefore, ruſhing on them in a fury, he laid, with his own hands, two of them dead at his feet. His guards diſperſing the reſt, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be hanged upon the ſpot; and ſent others priſoners to London; and ſo quelled the faction at a ſtroke.

This action ſerved ſtill more to increaſe the power of Cromwell in the camp, and in the

parliament; and while Fairfax was nominally general of the troops, he was inveſted with all the power. His authority ſoon became irreſiſtible, in conſequence of a new addition to his ſucceſſes. The Scotch, perhaps aſhamed of the reproach of having ſold their king, and ſtimulated farther by the independents, who took all occaſions to mortify them, raiſed an army in his favour, and the chief command was given to the earl of Hamilton; while Langdale, marched at the head of his ſeparate body, and both invaded the North of England. Their two armies amounted to above twenty thouſand men. But Cromwell, at the head of eight thouſand of his hardy veterans, feared not to give them battle, * he attacked them one after the other, routed and diſperſed them, took Hamilton priſoner; and, following his blow, entered Scotland, where he ſettled the government entirely to his ſatisfaction. An inſurrection in Kent, was quelled by Fairfax, at the ſame time with the ſame eaſe.

During theſe contentions, the king, who was kept a priſoner at Cariſbrook, continued to negociate with the parliament. The parliament ſaw no other method of deſtroying the military power, but to depreſs it by the kingly. Frequent propoſals for an accommodation paſſed between the captive king and the commons; but the great obſtacle which had all along ſtood in the way, ſtill kept them from agreeing. This was the king's refuſing to aboliſh epiſcopacy, though he conſented to deſtroy the liturgy of the church. However, the

* Aug. 17

the treaty was ſtill carried on with vigour, as the parliament had more to apprehend from the deſigns of their generals, than from the attempts of the king; and, for the firſt time, they ſeemed in earneſt to conclude their negociations.

But it was now too late; for the army, crowned with ſucceſs, was returned from the deſtruction of their enemies; and, ſenſible of their own power, with furious remonſtrances began to demand vengeance on the king. At the ſame time they advanced to Windſor; ‡ and ſending an officer to ſeize the king, conveyed him to Hurſt-caſtle, in Hampſhire, oppoſite the Iſle of Wight. It was in vain that the parliament complained of this, as being contrary to their approbation; it was in vain that they began to iſſue ordinances for a more effectual oppoſition; they received a meſſage from Cromwell, that he intended paying them a viſit the next day with his army; and in the mean time, ordered them to raiſe him forty thouſand pounds upon the city of London.

The commons, however, though deſtitute of all hopes of prevailing, had ſtill courage to reſiſt, and attempted, in the face of the whole army, to cloſe their treaty with the king. They had taken into conſideration the whole of his conceſſions; and though they had formerly voted them unſatisfactory, they now renewed the conſultation with freſh vigour. After a violent debate, which had laſted three days, it was carried in the king's favour by an hundred and twenty-nine againſt eighty-

‡ Nov. 30.

eighty-three, that his conceſſions were a foundation for the houſes to proceed upon in the ſettlement of the kingdom. || This was the laſt attempt in his favour; for the next day colonel Pride, at the head of two regiments, blockaded the houſe, and ſeized in the paſſage forty-one members of the preſbyterian party, and ſent them to a low room belonging to the houſe, that paſſed by the denomination of Hell. Above an hundred and ſixty members more were excluded: and none were allowed to enter but the moſt furious and determined of the independents, in all not exceeding ſixty. This atrocious invaſion of the parliamentary rights, commonly paſſed by the name of Pride's purge, and the remaining members were called the Rump. Theſe ſoon voted, that the tranſactions of the houſe a few days before were illegal, and that their general's conduct was juſt and neceſſary.

Nothing now remained, after the conſtitution had been quite deſtroyed, after the parliament had been ejected, after the religion of the country had been aboliſhed, after the braveſt and the beſt of his ſubjects had been ſlain, but to murder the king! This vile parliament, if it now deſerves the name, was compoſed of a medley of the moſt obſcure citizens, and the officers of the army. In this aſſembly, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the king; and, on their report, a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king to levy war againſt his parliament. It was therefore reſolved that an High Court of Juſtice ſhould be

|| Dec. 5.

be appointed to try his majeſty for this new-invented treaſon. For form ſake they deſired the concurrence of the few remaining lords in the other houſe; but here there was virtue enough ſtill left, unanimouſly to reject the horrid propoſal.

But the commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. They voted, that the concurrence of the houſe of lords was unneceſſary; and colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, was commanded to conduct the king from Hurſt-caſtle to Windſor, and from thence to London. His afflicted ſubjects, who ran to have a ſight of their ſovereign, were greatly affected at the change that appeared in his face and perſon. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair was become venerably grey, rather by the preſſure of anxiety than the hand of time; while the reſt of his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he ſtood a ſolitary figure of majeſty in diſtreſs, which even his adverſaries could not behold without reverence and compaſſion. He had been long attended only by an old decrepid ſervant, whoſe name was Sir Philip Warwick, who could only deplore his maſter's fate, without being able to revenge it. ‡ All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were now withdrawn; and his new attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. The duke of Hamilton, who was reſerved for the ſame puniſhment with his maſter, having leave to take a laſt farewell as he departed from Windſor, threw himſelf at the king's feet, crying out, "My dear maſter!" The unhappy

‡ Dec. 27.

unhappy monarch raiſed him up, and embracing him tenderly, replied, while the tears ran down his cheeks, "I have indeed been a dear maſter to you." Theſe were ſevere diſtreſſes; however, he could not be perſuaded that his adverſaries would bring him to a formal trial; but he expected to be diſpatched by private aſſaſſination.

‖ From the ſixth, to the twentieth of January, was ſpent in making preparations for this extraordinary trial. The court of juſtice conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-three perſons named by the commons; but of theſe never above ſeventy met upon the trial. The members were chiefly officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, together with ſome of the lower houſe, and a few citizens of London. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident, Coke was appointed ſollicitor for the people of England, Doriſlaus, Steele and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-Hall.

The king was now conducted from Windſor to St. James's, and the next day was brought before the high court to take his trial. *While the crier was calling over the names of the commiſſioners for trying him, no body anſwering for lord Fairfax, a female voice from the gallery was heard to cry out, "He has more "wit than to be here." When the impeachment was read in the name of all the people of England, the ſame voice exclaimed, "No nor a twentieth part of them." Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box from whence the voice proceeded

‖ A. D. 1649. * Jan. 20.

proceeded, it was diſcovered that theſe bold anſwers came from the lady Fairfax, who alone had courage to condemn their proceedings.

When the king was brought forward before the court, he was conducted by the mace-bearer to a chair placed within the bar. Tho' long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, he ſtill ſuſtained the dignity of a king; he ſurveyed the members of the court with a ſtern air, and, without moving his hat, ſat down, while the members alſo were covered. His charge was then read by the ſollicitor, accuſing him of having been the cauſe of all the bloodſhed which followed ſince the commencement of the war; at that part of the charge he could not ſuppreſs a ſmile of contempt and indignation. After the charge was finiſhed, Bradſhaw directed his diſcourſe to the king, and told him, that the court expected his anſwer.

The king with great temper entered upon his defence, by declining the authority of the court. He repreſented, that having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he expected a different treatment from that he now received. He perceived, he ſaid, no appearance of an upper houſe, which was neceſſary to conſtitute a juſt tribunal. That he was himſelf the king and fountain of law, and conſequently could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his aſſent; that having been intruſted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them, by recognizing

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a power founded in uſurpation; that he was willing before a proper tribunal to enter into the particulars of his defence; but that before them he muſt decline any apology for his innocence, leſt he ſhould be conſidered as the betrayer of, and not a martyr for the conſtitution.

Bradſhaw, in order to ſupport the authority of the court, inſiſted, that they had received their power from the people, the ſource of all right. He preſſed the priſoner not to decline the authority of the court, that was delegated by the commons of England, and interrupted, and over-ruled the king in his attempts to reply.

In this manner the king was three times produced before the court, and as often perſiſted in declining its juriſdiction. The fourth and laſt time he was brought before this ſelf-created court, as he was proceeding thither, he was inſulted by the ſoldiers and the mob, who exclaimed, "Juſtice! juſtice! execution! execution!" but he continued undaunted. His judges having now examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by parliament, they pronounced ſentence againſt him. He ſeemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes; and it was ſuppoſed that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon; but the court refuſed compliance.

The conduct of the king under all theſe inſtances of low-bred malice was great, firm, and

and equal. In going through the hall from this execrable tribunal, the ſoldiers and rabble were again inſtigated to cry out juſtice and execution. They reviled him with the moſt bitter reproaches. Among other inſults, one miſcreant preſumed to ſpit in the face of his ſovereign. He patiently bore their inſolence. "Poor ſouls, cried he, they would treat their "generals in the ſame manner for ſix pence." Thoſe of the populace, who ſtill retained the feelings of humanity, expreſſed their ſorrow in ſighs and tears. A ſoldier more compaſſionate than the reſt, could not help imploring a bleſſing upon his royal head. An officer overhearing him, ſtruck the honeſt centinel to the ground before the king, who could not help ſaying, that the puniſhment exceeded the offence.

At his return to Whitehall, he deſired the permiſſion of the houſe to ſee his children, and to be attended in his private devotions by doctor Juxon, late biſhop of London. Theſe requeſts were granted, and alſo three days to prepare for the execution of the ſentence. All that remained of his family now in England, were the princeſs Elizabeth, and the duke of Glouceſter, a child of about three years of age. After many ſeaſonable and ſenſible exhortations to his daughter, he took his little ſon in his arms, and embracing him, "My "child, ſaid he, they will cut of thy father's "head, yes they will cut of my head, and "make thee a king. But mark what I ſay; "thou muſt not be a king as long as thy "brothers Charles and James are alive. They

"will cut off their heads when they can take "them, and thy head too they will cut off at "laſt, and therefore I charge thee do not be "made a king by them." The child, burſting into tears, replied, "I will be torn in "pieces firſt."

Every night during the interval between his ſentence and execution, the king ſlept ſound as uſual, though the noiſe of the workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, continually reſounded in his ears. The fatal morning being at laſt arrived, he roſe early; and calling one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. The ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined for his execution; for it was intended that this would increaſe the ſeverity of his puniſhment.

He was conducted on foot thro' the Park to Whitehall, he continued his devotions there till noon; then he ate a morſel of bread and drank a glaſs of wine, and went thro' the Banqueting-Houſe to the ſcaffold adjoining to that edifice, attended by biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteady virtues with his maſter. The ſcaffold, which was covered with black, was guarded by a regiment of ſoldiers under the command of colonel Tomlinſon, and on it were to be ſeen the block, the ax, and two executioners in maſques. The people in great crowds ſtood at a greater diſtance, in dreadful expectation of the event. The king ſurveyed all theſe ſolemn preparations with calm compoſure;

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and as he could not expect to be heard by the people at a diſtance, he addreſſed himſelf to the few perſons who ſtood round him. He there juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars; and obſerved, that he had not taken arms till after the parliament had ſhewn him the example: that he had no other object in his warlike preparations, than to preſerve that authority which had been tranſmitted to him by his anceſtors: but, though innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker. He owned that he was juſtly puniſhed for having conſented to the execution of an unjuſt ſentence upon the earl of Strafford. He forgave all his enemies, exhorted the people to return to their obedience, and acknowledge his ſon as his ſucceſſor, and ſignified his attachment to the proteſtant religion, as profeſſed in the church of England. So ſtrong was the impreſſion his dying words made upon the few who could hear him, that colonel Tomlinſon himſelf, to whoſe care he had been committed, acknowledged himſelf a convert. Juſt then Fairfax came and told Cromwell, The king muſt not die. Cromwell ſaid, "Let us ſeek the Lord concerning it:" and began a long prayer. Before this was ended, the fatal blow was ſtruck.

While he was preparing himſelf for the block, biſhop Juxon called out to him: "There is, Sir, but one ſtage more, which, "though turbulent and troubleſome, is yet "a very ſhort one. It will ſoon carry you

"a great way. It will carry you from earth "to heaven, and there you ſhall find to your "great joy, the prize to which you haſten, "a crown of glory." "I go, replied the "king, from a corruptible to an incorrupti- "ble crown, where no diſturbance can have "place." "You exchange, replied the "biſhop, a temporal for an eternal crown, "a good exchange." Charles having taken off his cloak, delivered his George to the prelate, pronouncing the word "Remember." Then he laid his neck on the block, and ſtretching out his hands as a ſignal, one of the executioners ſevered his head from his body at a blow, while the other, holding it up, exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor." The ſpectators teſtified their horror in ſighs, tears and lamentations; the tide of their affection began to return, and each blamed himſelf either with active diſloyalty to his king, or a paſſive compliance with his deſtroyers. The very pulpits, that uſed to reſound with inſolence and ſedition, were now bedewed with tears of unfeigned repentance; and all united in their deteſtation of thoſe hypocrites, who, to ſatisfy their own enmity, involved a whole nation in the guilt of treaſon.

* Charles was executed in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was of a middling ſtature, robuſt, and well proportioned. His viſage was pleaſing, but melancholy; probably the continual troubles in which he was involved made that impreſſion on his countenance. As for his character, the reader will deduce it from the detail

* Jan. 30. A. D. 1649.

detail of his conduct, better than from any ſummary given of it by the hiſtorian. It will ſuffice to ſay, that all his faults ſeem to have ariſen from the error of his education; while all his virtues, and he poſſeſſed many, were the genuine offſpring of his heart. He lived at a time when the ſpirit of the conſtitution was at variance with the genius of the people; and governing by old rules and precedents, inſtead of accommodating himſelf to the changes of the times, he fell, and as he ſunk, drew down the conſtitution in ruins round him. Many kings before him expired by treaſons or aſſaſſinations; but never ſince the times of Agis the Lacedemonian was there any other ſacrificed by his ſubjects with all the formalities of juſtice.

All agree that king Charles was a pattern of piety, ſobriety, temperance and chaſtity. He could not endure an obſcene or a profane word. He was punctual in his devotions both public and private. He was rigorouſly juſt; but is ſuppoſed to have been ſometimes wanting in ſincerity. He was a good father, a good maſter, and a good huſband: yea, a fond one, which was the chief ſource of his troubles; together with the wrong bias towards arbitrary power, which had been inſtilled into him from his infancy. But for this, he would have been one of the moſt accompliſhed princes, that ever ſat upon the the Engliſh throne.

CHAP. V.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CROMWELL, after the king's death, began to feel wiſhes to which he had been hitherto a ſtranger. His proſpects widening as he roſe, his firſt principles of liberty were loſt. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon buſineſs, and ſent down ſome votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the leaſt notice. In a few days after the commons voted, that the houſe of lords was uſeleſs and dangerous, and therefore was to be aboliſhed. They voted it high treaſon to acknowledge Charles Stuart, ſon of the late king, as ſucceſſor to the throne. A great ſeal was made, on one ſide of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inſcription: "The great ſeal "of England." "On the reverſe was repreſented the houſe of commons ſitting, with this motto: On the firſt year of freedom, by "God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648." The forms of

‡ A. D. 1649.

of all public buſineſs were changed from the king's name, to that of The keepers of the liberties of England.

§ The next day they proceeded to try thoſe gallant men, whoſe attachment to their late ſovereign had been the moſt remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed, the earl of Holland loſt his life by a like ſentence; the earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the commons.

The Scots, who had in the beginning ſhewn themſelves ſo averſe to the royal family, having, by a long train of ſucceſſes, totally ſuppreſſed all inſurrections in its favour, now began to relent. Their loyalty returned, and the inſolence of the independents, ſerved to inflame them ſtill more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton alſo, who was put to death not only contrary to the laws of war, but of nations, was no ſmall vexation; they, therefore, determined to acknowledge prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was ſtill predominant, and ſeemed to combat with their manifold reſentments. At the ſame time that they reſolved upon raiſing him to the throne, they abridged his power with every poſſible limitation.

Charles, after the death of his father, having paſſed ſome time at Paris, and finding no likelihood of aſſiſtance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He poſſeſſed neither the virtues nor the conſtancy of his father; and being attached to no religion, agreed to all their propoſals, being ſatisfied

* March 6. A. D. 1649.

fied with even the formalites of royalty. It is remarkable, that while the Scots were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheleſs, cruelly puniſhing thoſe who had adhered to his cauſe. * Among others, the earl of Montroſe, one of the braveſt, politeſt, and moſt finiſhed characters of that age, was taken priſoner, as he endeavoured to raiſe the Highlanders in the royal cauſe; and being brought to Edinburgh was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs ſtuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſeverity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of his faithful adherent were ſtill expoſed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the auſtere zealots, who had been the cauſe of his father's misfortunes, he ſoon found that he had only exchanged exile for impriſonment. He was ſurrounded, and inceſſantly importuned by their clergy, who obliged him to liſten to long ſermons, in which they ſeldom failed to ſtigmatize the late king as a tyrant, and to accuſe his mother of idolatry. Six ſermons a day were his uſual allowance; and yet he was denied the ſmall conſolation of laughter. In ſhort, the clergy having brought royalty under their feet, were reſolved to trample upon it with all the contumely of ſucceſsful upſtarts. Charles bore all their inſolence with hypocritical tranquility, and even pretended to be highly edified by their inſtructions. He once, indeed, attempted to eſcape

* A. D. 1650.

eſcape from among them; but being brought back, he owned the greatneſs of his error, he teſtified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of eſcaping.

In the mean time Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, proſecuted the war in that kingdom with his uſual ſucceſs. He had to combat againſt the Royaliſts, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Iriſh, led on by O'Neal. But ſuch ill connected and barbarous troops could give very little oppoſition to forces, conducted by ſuch a general, and emboldened by long ſucceſs. He ſoon over-ran the whole country; and after ſome time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. He entered the city of Drogheda by ſtorm, and put to death all he found in arms. He was now in the way of ſpeedily reducing the whole kingdom, when he was called over by the parliament to defend his own country againſt the Scots, who, having eſpouſed the royal cauſe, had raiſed a conſiderable army to ſupport it.

After Cromwell's return to England, he received the thanks of the houſe, for the ſervices he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then deliberated upon chuſing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refuſing upon principle, as he had all along declined oppoſing the preſbyterians, the command neceſſarily devolved upon Cromwell. Being declared captain-general, he ſet out for Scotland, at the head of nineteen thouſand men.

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The Scots prepared to meet the invaſion. They had given the command of their army to general Leſley, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent commander knew, that though ſuperior in numbers, his army was much inferior in diſcipline to the Engliſh; and he kept himſelf carefully within his intrenchments. After ſome previous motions on one ſide and the other, Cromwell, at laſt, ſaw himſelf in a very diſadvantageous poſt near Dunbar, and his antagoniſt waiting deliberately to take advantage of his ſituation. But the madneſs of the Scotch clergy ſaved him. Theſe had it ſeems been wreſtling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at laſt fancied that they had obtained the ſuperiority. Revelations they ſaid were made them, that the heretical army, together with Agag their general, would be delivered into their hands. Upon the aſſurances of theſe viſions, they obliged their general, in ſpite of all his remonſtrances, to deſcend into the plain, and give the Engliſh battle.

* When Cromwell was told that the Scotch army were coming down to engage, he aſſured his ſoldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to ſing pſalms, as already poſſeſſed of a certain victory. The Scots, though double the number of the Engliſh, were ſoon put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter, while Cromwell did not loſe above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scotch army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was

* Sep. 3.

was well enough pleaſed at the defeat, which belied all the aſſurances of his oppreſſors. It was attended alſo with this good conſequence to him, that it ſerved to introduce him to a greater ſhare of power. * He put himſelf at the head of the ſmall part of the Scotch army that had ſurvived the defeat; and theſe he ſtill further ſtrengthened by the royaliſts, whom the covenanters had before excluded from his ſervice. Cromwell, however, ſtill followed his blow, purſued the king's forces towards Perth, and cutting off the proviſions of the Scotch army, made it impoſſible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country any longer.

In this terrible exigence he embraced a reſolution worthy a prince, who was willing to hazard all for empire. Obſerving that the way was open to England, he reſolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected to be reinforced by all the royaliſts in that part of the kingdom. His generals expected the ſame; and with one conſent the Scotch army, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, made an irruption ſouthwards.

But Charles ſoon found himſelf diſappointed in the expectation of increaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterprize, fell from him in great numbers. The Engliſh, affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him. His mortification was ſtill increaſed, when being arrived at Worceſter, he was informed, that Cromwell was marching with haſty ſtrides from

* A. D. 1651.

from Scotland, with an army increaſed to forty thouſand men. The news ſcarce arrived, when that active general himſelf appeared; and falling upon the town on all ſides, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. † The ſtreets were ſtrewed with ſlaughter, the whole Scotch army was either killed or taken priſoners, and the king himſelf, having given many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can ſcarce conceive adventures more romantic, or diſtreſſes more ſevere, than thoſe which attended the young king's eſcape. After his hair was cut off, the better to diſguiſe him, he wrought for ſome days in the habit of a peaſant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was ſincerely attached to his cauſe. But he was diſappointed, every paſs being guarded, to prevent his eſcape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careleſs, who, like himſelf, had eſcaped the carnage at Worceſter; and it was in his company that he was obliged to climb a ſpreading oak, among the thick branches of which, they paſſed the day together, while they heard the ſoldiers of the enemy in purſuit of them below. From thence he paſſed, with imminent danger, thro' famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the houſe of colonel Lane, in Staffordſhire. There he deliberated about the means of eſcaping into France; and Briſtol being ſuppoſed the propereſt port, it was agreed that he ſhould ride thither, before this gentleman's ſiſter, on a viſit to one Mrs. Norton, who lived

† Sep. 3.

lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with perſons, whoſe faces he knew; and at one time paſſed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the firſt perſon they ſaw was one of his own chaplains ſitting at the door. The king, after having taken proper care of his horſe in the ſtable, was ſhewn to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was ſaid he had the ague. The butler, being ſent to him with ſome refreſhment, no ſooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and maſter; and falling upon his knees, while the tears ſtreamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to ſee your majeſty." The king made him promiſe to keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and the honeſt ſervant punctually obeyed him.

No ſhip being found ready to ſail, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He therefore repaired to the houſe of colonel Wyndham, in Dorſetſhire, where he was cordially received. His mother, a venerable matron, ſeemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expreſſed no diſſatisfaction at having loſt three ſons, and one grand-child in the defence of his cauſe, ſince ſhe was honoured in being inſtrumental to his own preſervation.

Purſuing his journey to the ſea-ſide, he once more had a very providential eſcape

from a little inn, where he ſet up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament a ſolemn faſt; and a weaver, who had been a ſoldier in the parliament army, was preaching againſt the king in a little chapel fronting the houſe. Charles, to avoid ſuſpicion, was himſelf among the audience. It happened, that a ſmith of the ſame principles with the weaver had been examining the horſes belonging to the paſſengers, and came to aſſure the preacher that he knew by the faſhion of the ſhoes, that one of the ſtrangers horſes came from the north. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horſe could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and inſtantly went with a conſtable to ſearch the inn. But Charles had left the inn before the conſtable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Suſſex, a veſſel was at laſt found, in which he embarked. He was known to ſo many, that if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. ‡ After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſchamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his eſcape.

In the mean time, Cromwell, crowned with ſucceſs, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied by the mayor of London, and the magiſtrates, in all their formalities. His firſt care was to take advantage of his late ſucceſſes, by depreſſing the Scots, who had ſo lately withſtood the work of the Goſpel, as he

‡ Oct. 20.

he called it. An act was paſſed for aboliſhing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the Engliſh commonwealth. It was impowered, however, to ſend ſome members to the Engliſh parliament. Judges were appointed to diſtribute juſtice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, were not much diſſatisfied with their preſent government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to compleat their ſubjection, ſerved much to reconcile the minds of the people.

In this manner the Engliſh parliament ſpread their unconteſted authority over all the Britiſh dominions. Ireland was totally ſubdued by Ireton and Ludlow. All the ſettlements in America, that had declared for the royal cauſe, were obliged to ſubmit; Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man, were brought under ſubjection. Thus mankind ſaw, with aſtoniſhment, a parliament compoſed of ſixty or ſeventy obſcure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and ſucceſs. Without any acknowledged ſubordination, except a council of ſtate conſiſting of thirty-eight, to whom all addreſſes were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with œconomy and exactneſs. Few private perſons became rich by the plunder of the public: the revenues of the crown, the lands of the biſhops, and a tax of an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds each month, ſupplied the wants of the government.

The parliament next reſolved to chaſtiſe the Dutch, who had given but very ſlight cauſes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Doriſlaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being ſent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was aſſaſſinated by ſome of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after Mr. St. John, appointed their ambaſſador to that court, was inſulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. * Theſe were thought motives ſufficient to induce the commonwealth of England to declare war againſt them. The parliament's chief dependence lay in the activity of Blake, their admiral; who, though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet ſurpaſſed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other ſide, the Dutch oppoſed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they never ſince produced an equal. Many were the engagements between theſe celebrated admirals, and various was their ſucceſs. Sea-fights ſeldom prove deciſive; and the vanquiſhed are ſoon ſeen to make head againſt the victors. Several dreadful encounters rather ſerved to ſhew the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their ſuperiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great diſadvantages by the loſs of their trade; and by the total ſuſpenſion of their fiſheries, were willing to treat for a peace; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable anſwer. It was the policy of that body, to keep their navy on foot as long as

* A. D. 1652.

as they could; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by ſea, it would diminiſh the power of Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aſpirer, however, quickly perceived their deſigns; and ſaw that they dreaded his growing power. All his meaſures were conducted with a bold intrepidity, and he now ſaw, that it was not neceſſary to wear the maſk any longer. He reſolved to make another daring effort; and perſuaded the officers to preſent a petition for payment of arrears and redreſs of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with diſdain. The petition was ſoon drawn up and preſented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, deſired the parliament to conſider how many years they had ſat; * and what profeſſions they had formerly made of eſtabliſhing freedom on the broadeſt baſis. They alledged, that it was now full time to give place to others; and however meritorious their actions might have been, yet the reſt of the nation had ſome right, in turn, to ſhew their patriotiſm in the ſervice of their country.

The houſe was highly offended at the preſumption of the army, although they had ſeen, but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very preſumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all perſons who preſented ſuch petitions, for the future, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon. To this the

* A. D. 1653.

officers made a very warm remonſtrance, and the parliament as angry a reply; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wiſhed, and had well foreſeen. § He was ſitting in council with his officers, when informed of the ſubject on which the houſe was deliberating; upon which he roſe up in a ſeeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, "That he was compelled to do a "thing that made the very hair of his head "ſtand on end." Then haſtening to the houſe with three hundred ſoldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for ſome time. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſtarted up, and began to load the parliament with the keeneſt reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Upon which, ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for them to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addreſſing himſelf to the members: "For "ſhame, ſaid he, get you gone. Give place "to honeſter men; to thoſe who will more "faithfully diſcharge their truſt. You are "no longer a parliament; I tell you, you "are no longer a parliament; the Lord has "done with you." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this conduct: "Sir Harry, "cried Cromwell with a loud voice, O Sir "Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from "Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, thou art a whore-maſter; to

§ April 20.

to another, thou art an adulterer; to a third, thou art a drunkard; and to a fourth, thou art a glutton. "It is you, continued he to "the members, that have forced me upon "this. I have ſought the Lord night and "day that he would rather ſlay me than put "me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, "Take away, cried he, that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was aboliſhed, and the whole command, civil and military, centered in Cromwell. The people, that were ſpectators in ſilent wonder of all theſe tranſactions, expreſſed no diſapprobation at the diſſolution of a parliamant that had overturned the conſtitution, and deſtroyed the king. On the contrary, he received congratulory addreſſes from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having diſmiſſed a parliament that had ſubjected them to the moſt cruel impoſitions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be ſeduced by their praiſe. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he reſolved ſtill to amuſe the people with the form of a commonwealth, and to give them a parliament that would be entirely ſubſervient to his commands. For this purpoſe, conſulting with ſome of the principle officers, it was decreed, that the ſovereign power ſhould be veſted in one hundred and forty-four perſons, under the

the denomination of a parliament; and he undertook himſelf to make the choice.

The perſons pitched upon were the meaneſt, and the moſt ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprized that during the adminiſtration of ſuch, he alone muſt govern, or that they muſt ſoon throw up the reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice juſtified his ſagacity. Their very names compoſed of cant phraſes borrowed from Scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their miſapplication, ſerved to ſhew their exceſs of folly. Not only the names of Zerobabel, Habbakuk, and Meſopotamia were given to thoſe ignorant creatures, but ſometimes whole ſentences from Scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praiſe-God Barebones; his brother was, Fear-the-Lord Barebones. And hence this odd aſſembly was uſually called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legiſlation were entirely correſpondent to their ſtations and characters. As they were chiefly compoſed of antinomians, and of fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Chriſt's coming on earth, they began by chuſing eight of their tribe to ſeek the Lord in prayer, while the reſt calmly ſat down to deliberate upon the ſuppreſſion of the clergy, the univerſities, and the courts of juſtice.

To this hopeful aſſembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambaſſadors from that nation, though themſelves

ſelves preſbyterians, were quite carnally minded to theſe. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and induſtry. They inſiſted that the man of ſin ſhould be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambaſſadors finding themſelves unable to converſe with them in their own way, gave up the treaty as hopeleſs.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim againſt ſo fooliſh a legiſlature; and they themſelves ſeemed not inſenſible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out againſt them. Cromwell was pleaſed to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeavours; but began to be aſhamed of their complicated abſurdities. He choſe ſome of them quite devoted to his intereſts, and theſe he commanded to diſmiſs the aſſembly. * Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the reſt of their fraternity; and obſerving to each other that this parliament had ſat long enough, they haſtened to Cromwell, with Rouſe their ſpeaker at their head, and into his hands they reſigned the authority with which he had inveſted them.

This ſhadow of a parliament being diſſolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. Nothing now could withſtand him; the mayor and aldermen were ſent for to give ſolemnity to his appointment; and he was inſtituted into his new office at White-hall, in the palace of the king's of England

* Dec. 12.

England. He was to be addreſſed by the title of highneſs; and his power was proclaimed in London, and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obſcure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-three, roſe to unbounded power, firſt by following ſmall events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones: a ſtriking proof, that it is God, who according to his own will, caſteth down one and ſetteth up another!

It was, indeed, neceſſary that ſome perſon ſhould take the ſupreme command; for affairs were brought into ſuch a ſituation by the furious animoſities of the contending parties, that nothing leſs could prevent a renewal of bloodſhed and confuſion. || Cromwell, therefore, might have ſaid with ſome juſtice, that he accepted the dignity of protector to preſerve the peace of the nation; and this it muſt be owned he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and ſucceſs. The government of the kingdom was adjuſted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their offices during good behaviour; and, in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector choſe one. The protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the common wealth, with ſuch powers as the king was poſſeſſed of. The power of the ſword was veſted in him jointly with the parliament when ſitting, or with the council at intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to

|| Dec. 16.

to ſit five months without adjournment. A ſtanding army was eſtabliſhed of twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council. Cromwell choſe his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of one thouſand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whoſe fidelity he depended, paid a month in advance; the magazines were alſo well provided, and the public treaſure managed with frugality: while his activity, vigilance, and reſolution were ſuch, that he diſcovered every plot for an inſurrection before it took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, correſponded with his character, and was attended with ſucceſs. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, § ſued for peace, which he gave them. But he inſiſted upon their paying deference to the Britiſh flag. He compelled them to abandon the intereſts of the king, to pay eighty-five thouſand pounds as an indemnification for former expences, and to reſtore the Engliſh Eaſt India company a part of thoſe dominions of which they had diſpoſſeſſed them, during the former reign.

He was not leſs ſucceſsful in his negotiations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deſirous rather to prevail by dex-

§ A. D. 1654.

dexterity than violence, ſubmitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not leſs aſſiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendſhip, but was not ſo ſucceſsful. This vaſt monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now ſo low as to be ſcarce able to defend itſelf. Cromwell, however, ſtill regarded its power with jealouſy, and came into an aſſociation with France to depreſs it ſtill more. He lent that court a body of ſix thouſand men to attack the Spaniſh dominions in the Netherlands; and upon obtaining a ſignal victory by his aſſiſtance at Dunes, the French put Dunkirk, which they had juſt taken from the Spaniards, into his hands.

But it was by ſea that he humbled the power of Spain ſtill more effectually. Blake, who had long made himſelf formidable to the Dutch, and whoſe fame was ſpread over Europe, now became ſtill more dreadful to the Spaniſh monarchy. He ſailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, ſince the time of the cruſades, no Engliſh fleet had ever ventured. He there conquered all that ventured to oppoſe him. Caſting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained ſatisfaction for ſome injuries which the Engliſh commerce had ſuffered from the duke of Tuſcany. ‡ He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his ſubjects from farther injuring the Engliſh. He then went to Tunis, and having made the ſame

‡ A. D. 1655.

ſame demands, he was deſired by the Dey to look at the two caſtles, Porto Farino, and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake was not ſlow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned all the ſhipping, and ſailed out triumphantly. At Cadiz, he took two galleons valued at near two million pieces of eight. At the Canaries, he burned a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, and returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within ſight of his native country he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an uſurper, yet was averſe to his cauſe; his aim was to ſerve his country, not to eſtabliſh a tyrant. "It is ſtill our duty, he would ſay to the ſeamen, to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the ſame time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admirals Pen and Venables, with about four thouſand land-forces, to attack the Iſland of Hiſpaniola. Failing, however, in this, they ſteered to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conqueſt, that, upon their return from the expedition, Pen and Venables were ſent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

* As parliaments were ever dear to the people, it was reſolved to give them one; but ſuch as ſhould be entirely of the protector's chuſing, and chiefly compoſed of his

* A. D. 1656.

own creatures. Leſt any of a different complexion ſhould enter the houſe, guards were placed at the door, and none admitted but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council. The principal deſign of convening this aſſembly was, that they ſhould offer him the crown, with the title of king, and the other enſigns of royalty.

|| His creatures, therefore, took care to infuſe into this aſſembly the merits of the protector; the confuſion there was in legal proceedings without the name of a king; that no man was acquainted with the limits of the preſent magiſtrate's authority, but thoſe of a king had been well aſcertained by the experience of ages. At laſt the motion was made in form in the houſe, by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the houſe being Cromwell's creatures, the bill was voted according to his wiſhes; and nothing now remained but his own conſent to have his name enrolled among the kings of England.

Whether it was his original intention by having this bill carried through the houſe, to ſhew that he was magnanimous enough to refuſe the offer, or whether he found ſome of thoſe on whom he moſt depended averſe to his taking the title, cannot now be known. The obſcurity of his anſwers, on the occaſion, ſhews plainly a mind at variance with itſelf. "I confeſs, ſaid he, for it behoves "me to deal plainly with you, I muſt con- "feſs, I would ſay I hope I may be under-

ſtood

|| A. D. 1657.

" ſtood in this; for indeed I muſt be tender " what I would ſay to ſuch an audience as " this; I ſay I would be underſtood, that " in this argument I do not make a parallel " between men of a different mind, and a " parliament which ſhall have their deſires. " I know there is no compariſon; nor can " it be urged upon me that my words have " the leaſt colour that way, becauſe the par- " liament ſeems to me to give liberty to me " to ſay any thing to you. As that is a " tender of my humble reaſons and judg- " ment and opinion to them, and if I think " they are ſuch, and will be ſuch to them, " and are faithful ſervants, and will be ſo " to the ſupreme authority and the legiſlative " whereſoever it is. If I ſay I ſhould not " not tell you, knowing their minds to be " ſo, I ſhould not be faithful if I ſhould not " tell you ſo, to the end that you may re- " port it to parliament." In this manner did this moſt unaccountable of all characters anſwer their petitions for his aſſuming the kingly name and dignity; however the conference ended in his refuſing their offer.

But it muſt not be ſuppoſed that his ſituation, with all theſe offered honours, was at this time enviable. Perhaps no ſtation could be more truly diſtreſsful than his, at a time the nation was loading him with congratulations. † He had by this, rendered himſelf hateful to every party; and he owed his ſafety to their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. Yet he had not been reduced to the extreme of wretchedneſs, if he could

† A. D. 1658.

have found domeſtic conſolation. But his eldeſt daughter married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles ſo vehemently, that ſhe could not behold even her own father intruſted with uncontroulable power. His other daughters were no leſs ſanguine in favour of the royal cauſe: but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with all thoſe crimes that led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added ſome new diſquietude. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the preſbyterians, had ſecretly entered into an engagement to deſtroy him. His adminiſtration had exhauſted his revenue, and he was conſiderably in debt. One conſpiracy was no ſooner detected, but another roſe from its ruins; and to increaſe his calamity, he was now taught, upon reaſoning principles, that his death was not only deſirable, but his aſſaſſination would be meritorious. A book was publiſhed by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cauſe, entitled *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, this was the moſt eloquent and maſterly. Shall we, ſaid this popular declaimer, who would not ſuffer the lion to invade us, tamely ſtand to be devoured by the wolf? Cromwell read this ſpirited treatiſe, and was never ſeen to ſmile more.

All peace was now baniſhed from his mind. He found that his grandeur was only an inlet to freſh inquietudes. The fear of aſſaſſination

tion haunted him in all his walks, and was perpetually preſent to his imagination. He wore armour under his cloaths, and always kept piſtols in his pockets. His aſpect was clouded by a ſettled gloom; and he regarded every ſtranger with a glance of ſuſpicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went; and ſeldom ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber.

A tertian ague came at laſt to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the ſpace of a week no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increaſed, and he himſelf began to dread his approaching fate; but he was taught to conſider his preſent diſorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains. When Dr. Goodwin told him, that the elect would never be damned, "then ſaid he, I am ſafe; for I was once "in a ſtate of grace." His phyſicians were ſenſible of his dangerous caſe; but he was ſo encouraged by his preachers, that he conſidered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I "tell you, cried he to the phyſicians, that I "ſhall not die of this diſtemper. Favoura-"able anſwers have been returned from hea-"ven, not only to my own ſupplications, "but likewiſe to thoſe of the godly. Ye "may have ſkill in your profeſſion; but na-"ture can do more than all the phyſicians "in the world; and God is far above na-"ture." This provoked Dr. Bates, who

attended him all the time, to tell him in plain terms, "Sir, if you live four and twenty "hours longer, you will cheat me, and the "world, and the devil." Yet upon a faſt-day appointed on account of his ſickneſs, his miniſters thanked God for the pledges they had of his recovery. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances the fatal ſymptoms every hour increaſed; and the phyſicians were obliged to declare that he could not ſurvive the next fit. The council therefore came to know his laſt commands concerning the ſucceſſion; but his ſenſes were gone, and he was juſt able to anſwer yes to their demand, whether his ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always conſidered as the moſt fortunate of his life; ‡ he was then fifty-nine years old, and had uſurped the government nine years.

He certainly carried the honour of the nation to the higheſt pitch; being courted by all the powers of Europe. And he was regular in his private conduct; free from gluttony, drunkenneſs, luxury and avarice. He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in puniſhing vice and immorality. He never perſecuted any man for his religion; but always expreſſed a great zeal for proteſtantiſm. On the other hand, he had a boundleſs ambition; with the moſt profound diſſimulation. In one word, he was a great, bad man.

It is ſtrange, that the report concerning the great ſtorm on the day of his death ſhould have been readily received to this day: whereas

‡ A. D. 1658.

as Dr. Bates, who was in London at the very time avers it to be an abſolute falſhood, and affirms, it was a fair, mild day, quite from morning to night.

CHAP. VI.

THE influence of his name was ſtill ſufficient to get Richard his ſon proclaimed protector in his room. It was to the numerous parties in the kingdom, and their hatred of each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement. He was no way ambitious, being rather mild, eaſy, and good-natured; and honour ſeemed rather to purſue, than to attract him. He had nothing active in his diſpoſition; no influence among the ſoldiery, no importance in council.

It was found neceſſary, upon his firſt advancement, to call a parliament, to furniſh the ſupplies to carry on the ordinary operations of government. || The houſe of commons was formed legally enough; but the houſe of lords conſiſted only of thoſe perſons who were advanced to that ſtation by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army choſe to rely. A great number of the principal malecontents of the army, eſtabliſhed a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which

|| A. D. 1659.

which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The reſult of their deliberations was a remonſtrance that the command of the army ſhould be intruſted to ſome perſon in whom they might confide; and it was plainly given to underſtand that the young protector was not that perſon.

Such a propoſal did not fail to alarm Richard; he applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to conſider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was paſſed that there ſhould be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's permiſſion. This brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day ſurrounded by a body of officers; * and one Deſborow, a man of a clowniſh brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he ſhould refuſe. Richard wanted reſolution; he diſſolved the parliament, and ſoon after ſigned his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example. Richard lived ſeveral years after his reſignation, at firſt on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happineſs of his exaltation; but he knew by his tranquility in private, that he had made the wiſeſt choice.

The

* April 22.

The officers being once more left to themſelves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had ſo diſgracefully turned out of the houſe. This was called the good old cauſe; and to the members of this, the officers for a while delivered up their authority. The members, who had been ſecluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to reſume their ſeats among them.

The Rump parliament, for that was the name it went by, although reinſtated by the army, was yet very vigorous in its attempts to leſſen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their deſign of humbling the army by new modelling part of the forces, by caſhiering ſuch of the officers as they feared, and appointing others, on whom they could rely, in their room. Theſe attempts, were not unobſerved by the officers; and their diſcontent would have been fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehenſions of the royaliſts, and preſbyterians, who were conſidered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held ſeveral conferences together. They at length came to a reſolution, to diſſolve that aſſembly. Accordingly Lambert, drew up a choſen body of troops; and placing them in the ſtreets which led to Weſtminſter-hall, when the ſpeaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the houſe, he ordered the horſes to be turned and led home. § The other members were like-

likewiſe intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to obſerve a ſolemn faſt!

The officers having thus reſumed the power, reſolved not to part with it for the future. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers; theſe they called a committee of ſafety, and inveſted them with ſovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander in chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Deſborow, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been inveſted by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now eſtabliſhed, which gave the nation the melancholy proſpect of endleſs ſervitude.

During theſe tranſactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thouſand veterans in Scotland. He was at firſt a ſoldier of fortune. After ſome time ſpent abroad, he was intruſted with a regiment in the ſervice of king Charles, and was uſually called by the ſoldiery, for his good nature, honeſt George Monk. He was, however, taken priſoner at the ſiege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and ſoon after ſent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour, and ſent him to oppoſe the Iriſh rebels, againſt whom he performed ſignal ſervices. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was ſent over into Scotland, and there intruſted with the ſupreme command, in which ſtation he was not leſs eſteemed by the

the Scots than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, diſſolved the parliament, proteſted againſt the meaſure, and reſolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper deſigns were ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever they were, it was impoſſible to cover them with greater ſecrecy than he did. As ſoon as he put his army into motion, to enquire into the cauſes of the diſturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly ſought by all the contending parties. His own brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royaliſt, came to him with a meſſage from lord Granville, in the name of the king. The general aſked him if he had ever communicated the contents of his commiſſion to any other perſon. His brother replied to none except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain. The general altering his countenance, changed the diſcourſe, and would enter into no further conference with him. The ſame deep reſerve was held thro' all his ſubſequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppoſe him; and that general Lambert was actually advancing to meet him, Monk ſent three commiſſioners to London, to treat of an accommodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commiſſioners even proceeded ſo far as to ſign a treaty; but he refuſed to ratify it. Still, however, he made propoſals for freſh negociations;

ciations; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

In the mean time, the people perceiving they were not entirely defenceleſs, began to gather ſpirit, and to exclaim againſt the tyranny of the army. Hazlerig and Morley, while Lambert was abſent, took poſſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament.

The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Admiral Lawſon came into the river with his ſquadron, and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being ſolicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered, revolted to the parliament. * The Rump thus invited on all hands, again ventured to reſume their ſeats, and to thunder their votes againſt the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garriſons they appointed for them. The ſoldiers were not ſlow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert found himſelf deſerted by his whole army. He was ſoon after committed to the Tower; ſeveral of his brother-officers caſhiered, and the parliament ſeemed now to ſtand on a firmer baſis than before.

‡ But they were far from being ſo ſecure as they imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their reſtitution, and therefore might be ſuppoſed to have nothing more to do, ſtill continued to march towards the capital; all the world being equally in doubt as to his motives,

* Dec. 26. ‡ A. D. 1660.

motives, and aſtoniſhed at his reſerve. The gentry, on his march, flocked round him with addreſſes, expreſſing their deſire of a new parliament * Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to aſſiſt in the work of reſtoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity, and at laſt came to St. Alban's.

He there ſent the parliament a meſſage, deſiring them to remove ſuch forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this, ſome of the regiments refuſed to comply, but Monk was reſolved to be obeyed: he entered London the next day, || turned the ſoldiers out, and with his army, took up his quarters in Weſtminſter. He then waited upon the houſe, which was ready enough to vote him thanks for the ſervices he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner aſſured them, that his only merit was a deſire to reſtore peace to the community; and therefore, he intreated them that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the conſtitution. He obſerved alſo, that many oaths of admiſſion upon this occaſion were unneceſſary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their conſciences be.

The hope of being inſolent with ſecurity, inſpired the citizens to refuſe ſubmiſſion to the preſent government. They reſolved to pay no taxes, until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, ſhould be replaced. But the parliament found their general

* Jan. 11. || Feb. 3.

willing to give them the moſt ready inſtance, of his obedience; he entered the city with his troops, arreſted eleven of the moſt obnoxious of the common-council, and began to deſtroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done; and begging they would moderate the ſeverity of their orders. But being urged by the houſe to proceed, he, with all poſſible circumſtances of contempt, broke the gates and port-culliſes; and having expoſed the city to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter. But the next day he marched into the city again, and deſired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He aſſured them of his perſeverance in the cauſe of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in ſuch ſchemes as they ſhould approve.

This union of the city and the army cauſed no ſmall alarm in the houſe of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was deſired by the whole nation; and in ſuch a caſe, they were convinced that their own power muſt have an end. But their fears of puniſhment were ſtill greater than their uneaſineſs at diſmiſſion; they had been inſtrumental in bringing their king to the block, and ſome of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they reſolved, therefore, to try every method to gain off the general from his new alliance; ſome of them, promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate,

trate, and to ſupport his uſurpation. But Monk was too juſt, or too wiſe to hearken to ſuch wild propoſals; he reſolved to reſtore the ſecluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms; wherefore, having previouſly ſecured the conſent of his officers, and exacted a promiſe from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. From thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the houſe of commons, the other members of which were then ſitting. They were ſurpriſed to ſee a large body of men entering the place; but ſoon recollected them for their ancient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuouſly expelled, and were now as tumultuouſly reſtored. The number of the new comers was ſo ſuperior to that of the rump, that theſe in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The reſtored members began by repealing all thoſe orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion; they fixed a ſtipend for the fleet and the army; and having paſſed theſe votes diſſolved themſelves, and gave orders for the immediate aſſembling a new parliament. Mean while Monk new modelled his army. Some officers, by his direction, preſented him with an addreſs, in which they promiſed to obey implicitly the orders of the enſuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be ſigned by

all the different regiments; and this furniſhed him with a pretence for diſmiſſing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

Meantime his endeavours were very near being defeated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. ‡ Lambert had eſcaped from the Tower, and began to aſſemble forces; and as his activity was ſufficiently known, Monk took the earlieſt precautions to oppoſe his meaſures, and immediately diſpatched colonel Ingoldſby with his own regiment againſt him, before he could have time to aſſemble his dependents. Lambert had ſeized Daventry with four troops of horſe; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldſby, to whom he himſelf ſurrendered; a tameneſs that ill agreed with his former reputation.

As yet the new parliament was not aſſembled, and none had dived into the deſigns of the general. He ſtill perſevered in his reſerve; and although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to reſtore the king, yet his expreſſions never once betrayed the ſecret of his boſom. Nothing but a ſecurity of confidence at laſt extorted the confeſſion from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great enterprize of the reſtoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the king, applied for acceſs to the general; but he was deſired to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville refuſed, though twice urged, to deliver his meſſage to any but the general himſelf; and Monk now finding he could

‡ April 9.

could depend on his ſecrecy, opened to him his whole intentions; but with his uſual caution ſtill ſcrupled to commit any thing to paper. In conſequence of theſe the king left the Spaniſh territories, where he very narrowly eſcaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper reſpect and formality. From thence he retired into Holland, where he waited for further advice.

In the mean time the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The preſbyterians had long been ſo harraſſed by their independent coadjutors, that they longed for the king's reſtoration. Theſe, therefore, joined to the royaliſts, formed a deciſive majority on every conteſt, and without noiſe, determined to call back the king.

At length the long expected day for the ſitting of a free parliament arrived; and they choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone for their ſpeaker, a man, though at firſt attached to the oppoſing party, yet a royaliſt in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet ſuch were their fears, that no one dared for ſome days to mention his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only ſhewed their loyalty in their bitter invectives againſt the late uſurper. All this time Monk, with his uſual reſerve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wiſhes; at length he gave directions to Anneſley, preſident of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Granville, a ſer-

vant of the king, had been ſent over by his majeſty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy with which this meſſage was received. The members forgot the dignity of their ſituations, and indulged themſelves in a loud exclamation of applauſe. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pauſe was ſcarce allowed; all at once the houſe burſt out into an univerſal aſſent to the king's propoſals; and to diffuſe the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration ſhould immediately be publiſhed.

The king's declaration was highly reliſhed by every order of the ſtate. It offered a general amneſty to all perſons without any exceptions, but ſuch as ſhould be made by parliament. It promiſed to indulge ſcrupulous conſciences with liberty in matters of religion; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all ſuch as poſſeſſed lands with conteſted titles; to confirm all theſe conceſſions by act of parliament; to ſatisfy the army under general Monk with reſpect to their arrears, and to give the ſame rank to his officers when they ſhould be received into the king's ſervice.

This declaration was not leſs pleaſing to the lords than to the people. After voting the reſtitution of the ancient government, it was reſolved to ſend the king fifty thouſand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thouſand, and the duke of Glouceſter half that ſum. Then both houſes eraſed from their records all

all acts that had paſſed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addreſſes to his majeſty: and he was ſoon after proclaimed with great ſolemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all reſtraint, let looſe their tranſports without bounds. Thouſands were ſeen running about frantic with pleaſure; and ſuch were the numbers of the loyaliſts on this occaſion, that one could not but wonder where theſe people dwelt who had lately done ſo much miſchief.

Charles took care to confirm the ſubſtance of his declarations to the Engliſh commiſſioners, who where diſpatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the Engliſh admiral, waited upon his majeſty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high admiral. The king went on board, and landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. Very different was his preſent return, from the forlorn ſtate in which he left the Engliſh coaſt at Suſſex. He now ſaw the ſame people that had ſought his life, as warmly expreſſing their pleaſure at his ſafety. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourſe of people lined the way wherever he paſſed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been ſo long diſtracted by unrelenting factions, and oppreſſed by a ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of tyrannies, that they could no longer ſuppreſs theſe emotions of delight, to behold their conſtitution reſtored; or rather, like a phœnix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.

CHAP. VII.

CHARLES II.

*IN this reign we ſee the people toſſed into oppoſite factions, and, as the ſea after a ſtorm, ſtill continuing thoſe violent motions by which they were firſt impelled. We ſee them at one period with unbounded adulation ſoliciting the ſhackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animoſity baniſhing all the emiſſaries of unbounded power from the throne: now courting the monarch, and then threatening thoſe on whom he moſt depended. There ſeems a clue that can unravel all theſe inconſiſtencies. While the people thought the king a proteſtant, they were willing to intruſt him with their lives and fortunes; but when they ſuppoſed that he

* A. D. 1660.

he was more inclining to popery, all their confidence vaniſhed, and they were even willing to puniſh papiſts, as the propereſt method of ſhewing their reſentment againſt himſelf.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, poſſeſſed of a genteel perſon, an elegant addreſs, and an engaging manner. His whole behaviour was well calculated to ſupport and increaſe popularity. Accuſtomed during his exile to live chearfully among his courtiers, he carried the ſame indearing familiarities to the throne; and from the levity of his temper no injuries were dreaded from his former reſentments. But it was ſoon found that all theſe advantages were merely ſuperficial. His indolence and love of pleaſure made him averſe to all kinds of buſineſs; his familiarities were proſtituted to the worſt of his ſubjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no ſteps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required ſome time before the ſeveral parts of the ſtate, could come into proper form; a council was compoſed, into which church men and preſbyterians were indiſcriminately admitted; and the king's choice of his principal miniſters was univerſally pleaſing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord-chancellor, and firſt miniſter of ſtate. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as an hiſto-

rian,

rian, than as a ſtateſman; but his integrity and wiſdom were equally excellent in both. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Southampton, high-treaſurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas, ſecretary of ſtate. Theſe men, combined by private friendſhip, and purſuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and ſupported its intereſts with their own.

But though the joy of the people was unbounded, yet ſomething was thought to be due to juſtice. Therefore though an act of indemnity was paſſed, thoſe who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradſhaw, though dead, were conſidered as proper objects of reſentment; their bodies were dug up, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging ſome time, buried under the gallows. Of the reſt, who ſat in judgment at the late monarch's trial, ſome were dead, and ſome were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourſcore, were devoted to puniſhment.

This was all the blood that was ſhed in ſo great a reſtoration. Charles being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave univerſal ſatisfaction as well by the lenity as the juſtice of his conduct. The army was diſbanded that had ſo long governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were reſtored; at the ſame time that the king uniformly preſerved an air of moderation and neutrality.

But

But this toleration, was not able to quell the enthuſiaſm of a few frantic men. One Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwell, and had as often been pardoned, had by this time perſuaded his followers, that if they would take arms, Jeſus would come to put himſelf at their head. With theſe expectations, to the number of ſixty perſons, they iſſued forth into the ſtreets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jeſus wherever they went. They believed themſelves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the ſame fortune which had attended Gideon. Every one at firſt fled before them; one unhappy man being aſked who he was for, anſwering that he was for God and the king, they ſlew him upon the ſpot. In this manner they went from ſtreet to ſtreet, and made a deſperate reſiſtance againſt a body of the train bands that was ſent to attack them. After killing many of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane wood, near Hampſtead. Being diſlodged from thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took poſſeſſion of an houſe, in which they defended themſelves againſt a body of troops, until the majority was killed. At laſt the troops, who had untiled the houſe, and were tired of ſlaughter, ruſhed in, and ſeized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the laſt they declared, that if they were deceived, the Lord himſelf was their deceiver.

On

On September the 13th, Henry duke of Glouceſter died of the ſmall-pox, in the twentieth year of his age. He was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who ſeemed more afflicted by his death, than by any incident of his whole life.

From moroſeneſs, the people in general now went over into the oppoſite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court ſet them the example; nothing but ſcenes of gallantry were to be ſeen; the horrors of the late war were become the ſubject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the ſectaries were diſplayed upon the ſtage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had loſt their whole fortunes in his ſervice, ſtill continued to pine in want and oblivion: while, in the mean time, their perſecutors, who had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were permitted to enjoy them without moleſtation. The ſufferers petitioned in vain: the amuſers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his conſideration. The wretched royaliſts murmured without redreſs; he fled from their expoſtulations to ſcenes of mirth, riot, and feſtivity.

His parliaments, both of England and Scotland ſeemed willing to make reparation for their former diſobedience, by their preſent conceſſions. In the Engliſh houſe, monarchy and epiſcopacy were carried to as great ſplen-

ſplendour as ever. The biſhops reſumed their ſeats in the houſe of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be veſted in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commiſſioners for regulating corporations and expelling ſuch members as had intruded themſelves by violence; the parliament was then diſſolved. In the next parliament the famous horrid act of uniformity in religion was paſſed, by which it was required that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; and that he ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer. In conſequence of this law, above two thouſand of the clergy relinquiſhed their cures in one day, to the great aſtoniſhment of the nation; thus ſacrificing their intereſt to their religion.

* But the Scotch parliament went ſtill greater lengths in their proſtrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeaſible, and hereditary right, was aſſerted in the fulleſt terms. His right was extended to their lives and poſſeſſions, and from his original grant was ſaid to come all that his ſubjects could enjoy. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thouſand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmoſt deteſtation.

This was the time for the king to have made himſelf independent of all parliaments; and it is ſaid that Southampton had thought of procuring him, from the commons, a revenue of two millions a year, which would

* A. D. 1661.

have effectually rendered him abſolute. But in this, his views were obſtructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was ſtill more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles was no way intereſted in theſe oppoſite views of his miniſters; he only deſired money, for his pleaſures; and provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

It was this careleſs and expenſive diſpoſition that firſt tended to diſguſt his ſubjects, and to diſpel that intoxication which had taken place at his reſtoration. Though the people were pleaſed with the pleaſantry of their monarch, yet they murmured at his indolence, debaucheries, and profuſion. They could not help remembering the ſtrict frugality and active diligence that marked the uſurper's adminiſtration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vaſt projects he had undertaken. But they now ſaw an oppoſite picture; a court ſunk in debauchery and the taxes only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. And when they ſaw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous adminiſtration, baſely ſold to the French, for a ſmall ſum to ſupply the king's extravagance, they could put no bound to their complaints. || From this time, he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obſtructions, and his parliament reluctantly granting ſupplies.

His continual exigencies drove him conſtantly to meaſures no way ſuited to his inclination

clination. Among others, was his marriage, with Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princeſs, poſſeſſed few perſonal attractions. It was the portion of this princeſs that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds, together with the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the dukes of Ormond, and Southampton, urged many reaſons againſt this match, particularly the likelyhood of her never having any children; but the king diſregarded their advice, and the inauſpicious marriage was celebrated on the 21ſt. of May.

But ſtill his neceſſities were greater than his ſupplies. He never much loved the ſteady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him ſome of thoſe neceſſities to which he was reduced. It is ſaid alſo that this great miniſter prevented his repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he inclined to give him up to the reſentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to obtain ſome farther ſupplies. For this purpoſe he aſſembled the commons in the banquetting-houſe; and, in the cloſe of a flattering ſpeech, replete with profeſſions of the warmeſt affection, he begged a ſupply for his preſent occaſions. They granted him four ſubſidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example.

On June the 14th, Sir Henry Vane, one of the principal authors of the late troubles, was beheaded. The law was ſtrained for his conviction, as he had ſtrained it againſt the earl of Strafford, againſt whom he had acted all along with the moſt rancorous enmity. So was his unmercifulneſs repaid into his own boſom!

* It was probably with a view of recruiting the ſupply for his pleaſures, that he declared war againſt the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpoſe, would go through his hands. A vote was procured in the houſe of commons, alledging, that the wrongs and indignities offered by the Dutch in ſeveral quarters of the globe, had in a great meaſure obſtructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majeſty to proceed upon. He foreſaw that he ſhould be able to convert a part of the ſupplies to his private amuſements. His brother alſo, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and conduct, as high-admiral, againſt a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but alſo as one of the bulwarks of the proteſtant religion‖.

This war began on each ſide with mutual depredations. The Engliſh, under the command of Sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe caſtle, on the coaſt of Africa, but likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements

* A. D. 1664.

‖ During this ſeſſion, the clergy gave up the right of taxing themſelves in convocation. Here ended their importance; and from that time they have been very little conſidered.

ſettlements of Cape Verde, and the Iſle of Goree. Sailing from thence to America, the admiral poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a country that has ſince continued annexed to the Engliſh government. On the other hand, de Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, ſailed to Guinea, diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of all their ſettlements there, except Cape Corſe. § Soon after, the fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of York, to the number of an hundred and fourteen ſail, the other commanded by Opdam, admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both ſides fought with their uſual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hotteſt part of the engagement, and behaved with great ſpirit and compoſure, even when lord Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed at his ſide by one cannon-ball. In the heat of the action, when engaged in cloſe fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ſhip blew up: this accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt; they had nineteen ſhips ſunk and taken, the victors loſt only one. This diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation; and de Wit, their great miniſter, whoſe genius and wiſdom were admirable, was obliged to come on board, and take the command of the fleet upon himſelf. This extraordinary man quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved ſome parts of the naval art, beyond

§ A. D. 1665.

what expert mariners had ever attained.

This year the plague broke out in London, and raged with ſuch fury as to deſtroy, in the ſpace of a few months, above an hundred thouſand perſons.

* The ſucceſs of the Engliſh excited the jealouſy of the neighbouring ſtates, particularly France and Denmark, who reſolved to protect the Dutch againſt the ſuperior power of their oppoſers. The Dutch, ſtrengthened by ſo powerful an alliance, reſolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was returned from his expedition to Guinea; and was appointed, at the head of ſeventy-ſix ſail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who it was ſuppoſed, was then entering the Britiſh channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh fleet, of ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle, who from his ſucceſſes under Cromwell had learned too much to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ſhips to oppoſe the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, proteſted againſt it; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The battle on June the 1ſt, began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral Evertzen was killed by a cannon-ball, and one veſſel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the Engliſh ſhips was taken: darkneſs parted the combatants for the firſt day. The ſecond day they renewed the combat with increaſed animoſity; ſixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch, and the Engliſh

* A. D. 1666.

Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coaſt, the Dutch followed them, and another dreadful conflict began, but was ſtopped by the darkneſs of the night as before. The morning of the third day, the Engliſh continued their retreat, and the Dutch perſiſted in purſuing. Albemarle, who kept in the rear, made a deſperate reſolution to blow up his ſhip rather than ſubmit to the enemy; when he happily found himſelf reinforced by prince Rupert with ſixteen ſhips of the line. By this time it was night; and, the next morning, after a diſtant cannonading, the fleets came to a cloſe combat, which was continued with great violence, till they were parted by a miſt. But Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to ſtrike on the Galoper Sands, where he was ſurrounded and taken. The Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory of the combat.

A ſecond engagement, equally bloody, followed ſoon after, with larger fleets on both ſides, commanded by the ſame admirals; and in this the Dutch were obliged to retreat into their own harbours. But they ſoon were in a capacity to out-number the Engliſh fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. They appeared in the Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation: a chain had been drawn acroſs the river Medway: ſome fortifications had been added to the forts along

along the banks, but all theſe were unequal to the preſent force: Sheerneſs was ſoon taken, the Dutch paſſed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by ſome ſhips, ſunk there by Albemarle's orders. Deſtroying the ſhipping in their paſſage, they advanced ſtill onward, with ſix men of war, and five fire-ſhips, as far as Upnore caſtle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in conſternation; it was expected that the Dutch might ſail up next tide to London bridge, and deſtroy not only the ſhipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to proſecute that project from the failure of the French, ſpreading, therefore, an alarm along the coaſt, they returned to their own ports, to boaſt their inſult on the Britiſh glory.

This calamity was ſoon followed by another ſtill more dreadful; * a fire breaking out at a baker's houſe, in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, ſpread with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it till it laid in aſhes the moſt conſiderable part of the city. The conflagration continued three days; and deſtroyed ſix hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand, two hundred houſes, while the wretched inhabitants fled from one ſtreet, only to be ſpectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vaniſhed, and a total deſtruction was expected, no natural means of help remaining, God interpoſed: the flames ceaſed ſuddenly and unexpectedly, after having reduced thouſands from affluence to miſery. As the ſtreets were narrow,

* Sep. 2.

narrow, and moſtly built of wood, the flames ſpread the faſter; and the unuſual dryneſs of the ſeaſon prevented the proper ſupplies of water. But the people were not ſatisfied with theſe obvious motives; having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now aſcribed the preſent misfortune to the papiſts. But no proofs were brought of their guilt. The magiſtracy, however aſcribed it to them, on a monument raiſed where the fire began; and which ſtill continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though at firſt it affected the fortunes of thouſands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It roſe from its ruins in greater beauty; and the ſtreets being widened, and built of brick inſtead of wood, became more wholeſome and more ſecure.

* Charles now began to be ſenſible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war, were likely to prove ineffectual. A treaty therefore was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New York was ceded by the Dutch to the Engliſh, and has continued a moſt valuable acquiſition to the preſent time.

Yet this treaty was conſidered as inglorious to the Engliſh, as they failed of gaining any redreſs on the complaints which gave riſe to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, gained a ſhare of blame, for having adviſed a diſgaceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's, favour and was diſliked by moſt of his courtiers. His ſevere virtue, and his deteſtation

* A. D. 1667.

deteſtation of factious meaſures, were unlikely to gain him partizans in ſuch a court as that of Charles. There were many accuſations brought againſt him, not one of which could be proved: but the king ſeized on the pretence, § and ordered the ſeals to be taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman.

This ſeemed the ſignal for Clarendon's enemies to ſtep in, and effect his entire overthrow. The houſe of commons, in their addreſs to the king, gave him thanks for his diſmiſſion of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened againſt him in the houſe, by Mr. Seymour, conſiſting of ſeventeen articles. Theſe, which were only a catalogue of vulgar rumours, appeared at firſt ſight falſe or frivolous: and his eldeſt ſon told the houſe, in the name of his father, "that if they would only prove one of thoſe, let them chuſe which ever they pleaſed, he would plead guilty to all the reſt. However Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuoſity againſt him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legiſlature then paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, while he continued to reſide at Paris, where he employed his leiſure in reducing his hiſtory of the civil war into form, for which [illegible] before collected materials. Such was the unworthy fate of the earl of Clarendon, a nobleman of unblemiſhed virtue, an incorruptible judge, as well as an able miniſter. But his reward is with the Moſt High!

A con[illegible]

§ Aug. 31.

A confederacy named the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles, ſoon after the fall of this great ſtateſman. It was conducted by Sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of Engliſh literature; who united the philoſopher and the ſtateſman. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conqueſts in the Netherlands. That monarch had already ſubdued the greater part of that country; when he was ſtopped in his career by this league; in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would conſtitute themſelves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretenſions of either.

To this foreign confederacy ſucceeded one of a domeſtic nature, that did not promiſe ſuch beneficial effects. The king was excited by his brother, to riſe above humble ſolicitations to his parliament; and was beſet by ſome deſperate counſellors, who encouraged him to aſſert his own independence. The principal of thoſe were, Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington, Lauderdale, a junto diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more fitted to deſtroy all that liberty which had been eſtabliſhing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous ſpirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence. Lord Aſhley, ſoon after known by the name of lord Shafteſbury, was the

‡ A. D. 1668.

the moſt extraordinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the preſbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a conſiderable hand in the reſtoration; he was ambitious, ſubtle, and enterpriſing; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties; and while he had the character of never betraying his friends, he changed his party as it ſuited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of great vivacity, well fitted to unite, and harmonize the graver tempers of which this junto was compoſed. Arlington was a man of very moderate capacity, his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to perſevere in them. Laſtly, the duke of Lauderdale was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired talents; but he was ambitious, cruel, implacable, obſtinate, inſolent, and ſullen. ‡ Theſe were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs; and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties, which produced the moſt dangerous ſymptoms.

A ſecret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the firſt conſequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himſelf a catholic; and, to alarm the fears of the nation ſtill more, a liberty of conſcience was allowed to all ſectaries, whether diſſenters or papiſts. Theſe meaſures were conſidered by the people as deſtructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion. A proclamation was iſſued

‡ A. D. 1670.

iſſued, containing very rigorous clauſes in favour of preſſing; another full of menaces againſt thoſe who ventured to blame his majeſty's meaſures; and even againſt thoſe who heard ſuch diſcourſes, unleſs they informed in due time againſt the offenders.

‡ The Engliſh now ſaw themſelves engaged in a league with France againſt the Dutch; and conſequently, whether victorious or vanquiſhed, their efforts were like to be equally unſucceſsful. The French had for ſome years been growing into power; and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Lewis XIV, threatened the liberties of Europe, and the proteſtant religion, of which Lewis had ſhewn himſelf a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy proſpect, to ſee an union formed, which, if ſucceſsful, muſt totally ſubvert that balance of power, which the proteſtants aimed at preſerving; nor were they leſs apprehenſive of their own ſovereign, who, though he turned all religion to ridicule, yet was ſuſpected to be attached to the catholics. The firſt events of this war were correſpondent to their fears. * The Engliſh and French combined fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the mareſchal d'Etrees, met the Dutch fleet to the number of ninety ſail, commanded by admiral de Ruyter, and a furious battle enſued. In this engagement the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the Engliſh van, drove his ſhip into the midſt of the enemy, beat off the admiral that attacked him, ſunk another ſhip that attempted to board him, and ſunk

‡ A. D. 1671. * A. D. 1672.

three fire-ſhips that endeavoured to grapple with him. Tho' his veſſel was torn with ſhot, and out of a thouſand men there only remained four hundred, he ſtill continued in the midſt of the engagement. At laſt a fire-ſhip having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Sandwich however refuſed to quit his ſhip, and periſhed in the flames. Night parted the combatants; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs ſuſtained by both was nearly equal; but the French ſuffered little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was ſuppoſed, they had orders to ſpare their own ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould grow weak by their mutual animoſities.

The combined powers were much more ſucceſsful againſt the Dutch by land. Lewis conquered all before him, took all the frontier towns, and threatened the republic with a final diſſolution. Terms were propoſed to them by the two conquerors. Lewis offered them ſuch as would have deprived them of all power of reſiſting an invaſion from France by land. Thoſe of Charles expoſed them equally to every invaſion from ſea. At laſt, the murmurs of the Engliſh at ſeeing this brave people on the brink of deſtruction, were too loud not to impreſs the king. He was obliged to call a parliament to take the ſenſe of the nation; and he ſoon ſaw how his ſubjects ſtood affected.

† The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this new parliament, which,

† A. D. 1673.

which, after many prorogations, continued ſitting for near two years. Before the commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a conſtant practice in the houſe for many years, in caſe of any vacancy, to iſſue out writs for new elections; but, by Shafteſbury's advice, ſeveral members had taken their ſeats upon irregular writs iſſued by the chancellor; ſo that the whole houſe in time might be filled with members clandeſtinely called up by the court. The houſe was no ſooner therefore aſſembled, than a motion was made againſt this method of election: and the members themſelves, thus called to parliament, had the modeſty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all ſectaries was next taken into conſideration, and a remonſtrance drawn up againſt that exerciſe of the prerogative. Charles found himſelf obliged, reluctantly to retract his declaration. The commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure. He on his part aſſured them, that he would willingly paſs any law which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Having abridged the king's ſtretches of power in theſe points, they went ſtill farther. A law was paſſed, entitled the Teſt act, impoſing an oath on all who ſhould enjoy any public office. Beſides the taking the oaths of allegiance, and the king's ſupremacy, they were obliged to receive the ſacrament once a

year in the eſtabliſhed church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. As the diſſenters alſo had ſeconded the efforts of the commons againſt the king's declaration for indulgence of papiſts, a bill was paſſed for their eaſe and relief, which, however, went with ſome difficulty through the houſe of peers.

But ſtill the great object of their meeting was to be enquired into; for the war againſt the Dutch continued. The commons, therefore, weary of this, reſolved that the ſtanding-army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more ſupplies to carry on the Dutch war, unleſs it appeared that the enemy refuſed all reaſonable conditions. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable altercations, the king reſolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the houſe of peers, and ſent the uſher of the black rod to ſummon the houſe of commons to attend. It happened that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, To the chair! Upon which the following motions were inſtantly made in a tumultuous manner. That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counſellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance; and then the houſe roſe in great confuſion. The king ſoon ſaw that he could expect no ſupply from the commons for carrying on the war; he reſolved, therefore, to

to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had propoſed: and it was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the ſyſtem of the king's politics was very pleaſing to the nation in general; but the Cabal quickly ſaw that it would be the deſtruction of all their power. Shafteſbury, therefore, was the firſt to deſert them, and go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and truſted him without any reſerve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was deſirous of imitating Shafteſbury. Lauderdale and Arlington were expoſed to all the effects of national reſentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up againſt the former, which, however, were never proſecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junto, that had laid a ſettled plan for overturning the conſtitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

‖ In the mean time the war between the Dutch and the French went on with the greateſt vigour; and although the latter were repreſſed for a while, they ſtill continued making incroachments. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was poſſeſſed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was always inferior in number of men. He was therefore, always unſucceſsful; but ſtill found means to repair his loſſes, and to make head in a little time againſt his victorious enemies. Theſe ſtrug-

‖ A. D. 1674.

gles for the preſervation of his country's freedom intereſted the Engliſh ſtrongly in his favour; ſo that from being his oppoſers, they now wiſhed to lend him aſſiſtance. They conſidered their alliance with France as threatening a ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of ſecurity. The commons, therefore addreſſed the king, repreſenting the danger to which the kingdom was expoſed from the growing greatneſs of France; and they aſſured him, in caſe of a war, that they would not be backward in their ſupplies. Charles was not diſpleaſed with the latter part of their addreſs, as money was neceſſary for his pleaſures. He therefore told them, that unleſs they granted him ſix hundred thouſand pounds, he could not give them a ſatisfactory anſwer. They ſcrupled this: on which he immediately ordered them to adjourn.

The marriage of the duke of York's eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Mary, heir apparent to the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a meaſure that gave great ſatisfaction in theſe general diſquietudes about religion. The negociation was brought about by the king's own deſire; and the proteſtants now ſaw an happy proſpect before them of a ſucceſſion, that would be favourable to their much-loved reformation. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed ſoon after, which was favourable to the latter. But the mutual animoſities of theſe ſtates not being as yet ſufficiently quelled, the

the war was continued for ſome time longer. The king, therefore, to ſatisfy his parliament, who declared loudly againſt the French, ſent over an army of three thouſand men to the continent, under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to ſecure Oſtend. A fleet alſo was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the Emperor. Theſe vigorous meaſures brought about the famous treaty of Nimeguen, * which in the end gave a general peace to Europe. However, the king was ſo diſſatisfied with the parliament, that he prorogued it to February, 1677.

CHAP. VIII.

THIS reign preſents the moſt amazing contraſts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy ſuſpicion. Ever ſince the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealouſies againſt the court. The fears of the nation were vented without reſtraint; the apprehenſions of a popiſh ſucceſſor, an abandoned court, and a parliament, which, though ſometimes aſſertors of liberty, yet

* A. D. 1675.

yet continuing for ſeventeen years without change; theſe naturally rendered the minds of mankind ſuſpicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

When the ſpirit of the Engliſh is once rouzed, they either find objects of ſuſpicion or make them. * On the twelfth of Auguſt, one Kirby, a chymiſt, accoſted the king as he was walking in the Park. "Sir, ſaid he, "keep within the company; your enemies "have a deſign upon your life, and you may "be ſhot in this very walk." Being queſtioned for this, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him that two perſons, named Grove and Pickering, were to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, had undertaken the ſame taſk by poiſon. Tongue was introduced to the king, and was referred to the lord treaſurer Danby. He there declared that ſeveral papers were thruſt under his door; and he knew the author of them, who deſired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the reſentment of the Jeſuits.

This information appeared ſo vague and unſatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However Tongue went again to the lord treaſurer, and told him, that a pacquet of letters, written by Jeſuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the poſt-houſe for Windſor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jeſuit, who was confeſſor to the duke of York, and who reſided there. Theſe letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he

* A. D. 1678.

he had ſhewn them to the king as a forgery, of which he neither knew the drift nor the meaning. This incident confirmed the king in his incredulity. He deſired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raiſe a flame in the nation; but the duke, to prove his innocence, inſiſted upon a diſcuſſion, which turned out very different from his expectations.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this intelligence, was produced ſoon after. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the ſuſpicion of the Jeſuits, and that he had concealed himſelf, in order to avoid their reſentment. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miſcreant, obſcure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain in a man of war, and diſmiſſed for unnatural practices. He then profeſſed himſelf a Roman catholic, and croſſed the ſea to St. Omer's, where he was for ſome time maintained in the Engliſh ſeminary. The fathers of that college ſent him with ſome diſpatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not ſuffer him to continue among them; ſo that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his ſupport. At a time that he was ſuppoſed to have been entruſted with a ſecret involving the fate of kings, he was in ſuch neceſſity, that Kirby was obliged to ſupply him with daily bread.

He had two methods to proceed upon, either to ingratiate himſelf by this information with the

the miniſtry, or to alarm the people. He choſe the latter. He went, therefore, with his two companions to Sir Edmondſbury Godfrey, a juſtice of peace, and before him depoſed to a narrative fit to make an impreſſion on the vulgar. "The pope, he ſaid, conſidered himſelf as entitled to the poſſeſſion of England and Ireland, and had accordingly aſſumed the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms. This, he had delivered up to the Jeſuits, and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several Engliſh catholic lords, whoſe names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of ſtate; lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treaſurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-ſeal, Coleman, the duke's ſecretary, was made ſecretary of ſtate, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Bellaſis general of the forces, lord Peters lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford paymaſter. The king, whom the Jeſuits called the Black Baſtard, was ſolemnly tried by them, and condemned as an heretic." He aſſerted that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confeſſor La Chaiſe, had offered ten thouſand pounds to any man who ſhould kill the king. Ten thouſand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman to poiſon him; but he demanded fifteen thouſand, which demand was complied with. Leſt theſe means ſhould fail, four Iriſh ruffians had been employed by the Jeſuits at the rate of twenty guineas a piece to ſtab the king at Windſor. Coleman, late ſecretary to the dutcheſs of York, was deeply involved in the plot. Grove and Pickering, to make ſure work,

work, were employed to ſhoot the king, and that too with ſilver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains, and the latter, being a pious man, thirty thouſand maſſes. Pickering would have executed his purpoſe, had not the flint dropped out of his piſtol at one time, and at another the priming. The duke of York was to be offered the crown on the ſucceſs of the ſcheme, on condition of extirpating the proteſtant religion.

In conſequence of this information, ſufficiently marked with abſurdity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, notwithſtanding, during his examination before the council, he ſo betrayed the groſſneſs of his impoſtures, that he contradicted himſelf in every ſtep of his narration. While in Spain he had been carried, he ſaid, to Don John, who promiſed great aſſiſtance. The king aſked him, what ſort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was. Oates replied that he was a tall lean man, which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended great intimacies with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him. He was guilty of the ſame miſtake with regard to Sir George Wakeman.

A great number of the Jeſuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into cuſtody. Coleman, at firſt retired; but next day ſurrendered himſelf, and his papers, were ſecured. Theſe papers, which were ſuch as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic

catholic, were converted into evidence againſt him. He had, without doubt, maintained a cloſe correſpondence with the French king's confeſſor, with the pope's nuncio at Bruſſels, and with many other catholics abroad. But theſe letters contained nothing that ſerved as proof in the preſent information. However, when the contents of thoſe letters were publicly known, they diffuſed the panic which the forme. narrative had begun.

In this fluctuation of paſſions, an accident ſerved to confirm the prejudices of the people, and to put it beyond doubt that Oates's narrative was the truth. Sir Edmondſbury Godfrey, who had been ſo active in unravelling the popiſh machinations, was found dead in a ditch, in the way to Hampſtead. His own ſword was thruſt through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; ſo that it appeared he was dead ſome time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets, and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck. The cauſe of his death muſt ſtill continue a ſecret; but the people, already enraged againſt the papiſts, did not heſitate a moment to aſcribe it to them; and the populace were exaſperated to ſuch a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general maſſacre of them. The body of Godfrey was carried through the ſtreets in proceſſion, preceded by ſeventy clergymen; and every one who ſaw it, made no doubt that his death could be only cauſed by the papiſts. Even the better ſort of people were infected with this prejudice;

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and ſuch was the general conviction of popiſh guilt, that no perſon, with any regard to perſonal ſafety, could expreſs the leaſt doubt concerning the information of Oates.

It only remained for the parliament to repreſs theſe deluſions. But the parliament teſtified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was echoed from one houſe to the other; the country party would not let ſlip ſuch an opportunity of managing the paſſions of the people; the courtiers were afraid of being thought diſloyal, if they ſhould doubt of it. Danby, the prime miniſter, himſelf entered into it furiouſly; and though the king told him he had given the houſes a handle to ruin himſelf, yet he perſevered, till he found the king's prognoſtic but too true.

In order to propagate the alarm, an addreſs was voted for a ſolemn faſt. It was requeſted that all papers tending to throw light upon ſo horrible a conſpiracy might be laid before the houſe, that all papiſts ſhould remove from London, that acceſs ſhould be denied at court to all unknown perſons, and that the train-bands in London and Weſtminſter ſhould be in readineſs to march. They voted, that there was a damnable and helliſh plot, contrived and carried on by the popiſh recuſants, for aſſaſſinating the king, and rooting out the proteſtant religion. Oates was recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a penſion of twelve hundred pounds a-year to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others. William Bedloe, a man, if poſſible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the ſtage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for ſeveral cheats and theſts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently paſſed himſelf for a man of quality. This man, at his own deſire, was arreſted at Briſtol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had ſeen the body of Sir Edmondſbury Godfrey at Somerſet-houſe, where the queen lived. He ſaid that a ſervant of lord Bellaſis offered to give him four thouſand pounds if he would carry it off. He was queſtioned about the plot, but denied all knowledge of it, and aſſerted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to ſhare the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, but added ſome circumſtances of his own, ſtill more tremendous, and ſtill more abſurd. He ſaid that ten thouſand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to ſeize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raiſe an army in Radnorſhire; that fifty thouſand men were ready to riſe in London; that he himſelf had been tampered with to murder a *man*, and was to receive four thouſand pounds for that ſervice, beſides the pope's bleſſing; that the king

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was to be aſſaſſinated, the proteſtants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would conſent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope ſhould continue to govern without him. He likewiſe accuſed the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to cuſtody. But the moſt terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thouſand men, who were ready at St. Jago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raiſe ten thouſand men to ſupply her own garriſons in Flanders.

Theſe narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witneſſes, the contradiction in their teſtimony, the improbability of it, all ſerve to raiſe our horror againſt theſe baſe villains, and our pity at the deluſion of the times. In order to give a confident air to the diſcovery, Bedloe publiſhed a pamphlet with this title. "A Narrative and impartial Diſcovery of the horrid Popiſh Plot, carried on for the burning the Cities of London and Weſtminſter, with their ſuburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately one of the Popiſh committees for carrying on ſuch fires." The papiſts were now become ſo obnoxious, that vote after vote paſſed againſt them in the houſe of commons, and ſuch as did not concur were expelled the houſe without ceremony. Even the duke of York was permitted to keep his place in the houſe by a majority of only two. "I would not, ſaid one of the lords, have "ſo much as a popiſh man, or a popiſh

"woman to remain here, not ſo much as a "popiſh dog, or a popiſh bitch, not ſo much "as a popiſh cat to mew, or pur about our "king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admirably ſuited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witneſſes, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were greedily received, went a ſtep farther, and ventured to accuſe the queen. The king received the news with good humour. "They think, ſaid he, that I have a mind "to a new wife; but for all that, I will not "ſuffer an innocent woman to be abuſed." He immediately ordered Oates to be ſtrictly confined, ſeized his papers, and diſmiſſed his ſervants. But his favour with parliament ſoon procured his releaſe.

Edward Coleman, ſecretary to the duke of York, was the firſt who was brought to trial. His letters were produced againſt him. They teſtified a zeal for the catholic cauſe, and that alone was ſufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation ſure. The former ſwore that he had ſent fourſcore guineas to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. Bedloe ſwore that he had received a commiſſion, appointing him papal ſecretary of ſtate, and that he had conſented to the king's aſſaſſination. After this unfortunate man's ſentence, many members of both houſes offered to interpoſe in his behalf, if he would make an ample confeſſion; but as he was, in reality, poſſeſſed of no treaſonable ſecrets, he would not procure

cure life by impoſture. He ſuffered with calmneſs and conſtancy, and to the laſt perſiſted in the ſtrongeſt proteſtations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was ſucceeded by thoſe of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jeſuit, was accuſed by Oates and Bedloe, the only witneſſes againſt him, that he was one of the fifty jeſuits who had ſigned the great reſolve againſt the king. Ireland affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordſhire all the month of Auguſt, the time when Oates aſſerted he was in London. Nevertheleſs, the jury brought him in guilty. It was in the ſame manner ſworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themſelves to aſſaſſinate the king; that they had provided themſelves with ſcrewed piſtols and ſilver bullets. They both proteſted their innocence, and yet were found guilty. All theſe unhappy men went to execution proteſting their innocence, a circumſtance which made no impreſſion on the ſpectators; their being Jeſuits baniſhed even pity from their ſufferings.

The animoſities of the people, however, ſeemed a little appeaſed by the execution of theſe four; but a new train of evidence was now diſcovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldſmith, and a profeſſed Roman catholic, had been accuſed by Bedloe of being an accomplice in Sir Edmondſbury's murder; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and noiſome. There the poor wretch lay-

groaning and exclaiming that he was not guilty; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and threatened with severer punishment, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon? Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced once more to confirm his first information. He said, the murder was committed by Lawrence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence. And though Bedloe's narrative, and Prance's information, were totally irreconcileable, and their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain, the prisoners were condemned and executed.* They all denied their guilt at execution; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But instead of stopping the torrent of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time; and the king was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt; all of them of the same

* A. D. 1679.

ſame order, were brought to their trial: Langhorne ſoon after. Beſides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witneſs, appeared againſt the priſoners. This man ſpread the alarm ſtill farther, and even aſſerted, that two hundred thouſand papiſts in England were ready to take up arms. The priſoners proved, by ſixteen witneſſes, that Oates was in St. Omers, at the time he ſwore he was in London. But as they were papiſts, their teſtimony could gain no credit. All pleas availed them nothing; both the Jeſuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their laſt breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had leſs ſucceſs on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's phyſician, who, though they ſwore as uſual, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt; and the judge and jury were afraid of venturing ſo far.

The earl of Stafford, near two years after, was the laſt man that fell a ſacrifice to theſe bloody wretches. Oates ſwore that he ſaw Fenwick, the Jeſuit, deliver Stafford a commiſſion from the general of the Jeſuits, conſtituting him pay-maſter of the papal army. Dugdale gave teſtimony that the priſoner had endeavoured to engage him in the deſign of murdering the king. The clamour and outrage of the populace againſt the priſoner was very great; he was found guilty and condemned to be hanged and quartered; but the king changed the ſentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where

where even his perſecutors could not forbear ſhedding tears at that ſerene fortitude which ſhone in every feature, motion, and accent of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and impriſoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted ſome time after.

But while theſe proſecutions were going forward, other deſigns were carried on. The lord treaſurer Danby was impeached in the houſe of commons, by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge againſt him was, his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambaſſador at Paris, directing him to ſell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen. This was a charge he could not deny; and though the king was more culpable than the miniſter, yet the proſecution was carried on againſt him with vigour. But the king reſolved to defend him. Charles aſſured the parliament, that as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he held him as entirely blameleſs; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would poſitively inſiſt on his perſonal ſafety. The lords were obliged to ſubmit; however, he was ſent to the Tower; but no worſe conſequence enſued.

Theſe furious proceedings had been all carried on by an houſe of commons that had now continued for above ſeventeen years; the king, therefore, was reſolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more unmanageable than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the leaſt abate of

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the activity and obſtinacy of their predeceſſors. The king, indeed, changed his council, and admitted into it ſeveral of both parties, by which he hoped to appeaſe his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too faſt a poſſeſſion of men's minds, to be removed by this. This houſe reſolved to ſtrike at the root of the evil, a popiſh ſucceſſor; and a bill was brought in for the excluſion of the duke of York from the crown of England and Ireland. This important bill paſſed the lower houſe by a majority of ſeventy-nine.

Nor did they reſt here, but voted the king's ſtanding army and guards to be illegal. They proceeded to eſtabliſh limits to the king's power of impriſoning delinquents at will. It was ‡ now that the celebrated ſtatute, called the Habeas Corpus act, was paſſed, which confirms the ſubject in an abſolute ſecurity from oppreſſive power. By this act it was prohibited to ſend any one to priſons beyond the ſea: no judge, under ſevere penalties, was to refuſe any priſoner his writ of habeas corpus; by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the priſoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cauſe of his detainer. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ muſt be obeyed in three days, and ſo proportionably for greater diſtances. Every priſoner muſt be indicted the firſt term of his commitment, and brought to trial the ſubſequent term. And no man after being enlarged by court, can be recommitted for the ſame offence.

This

‡ May 27.

This law alone, would have been ſufficient to endear the parliament that made it to poſterity; and it would have been well if they had reſted there. The duke of York had retired to Bruſſels; but an indiſpoſition of the king led him back to England, to be ready to aſſert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to diſgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural ſon of the king's, now very popular, he retired to Scotland, † under pretence of quieting the apprehenſions of the Engliſh; but in reality, to ſtrengthen his intereſts there. This receſſion ſerved ſtill more to inflame the country party, who were ſtrongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and reſolved to ſupport him againſt the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery. The parliament had ſhewn favour to all informers, and that ſerved to increaſe the number of theſe miſcreants. Plot was ſet up againſt plot; and the people kept ſtill ſuſpended in dreadful apprehenſion.

* The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occaſion. One Dangerfield, who had been ſet in the pillory, ſcourged, branded, and tranſported for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whoſe name was Cellier, a Roman catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring, that there was a deſign on foot to remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who ſupplied him with

† Oct. 27. * Nov. 2.

with money, and countenanced his diſcovery. He hid ſome ſeditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Manſel; and then brought the cuſtom-houſe officers to his apartment, to ſearch for ſmuggled merchandize. The papers were found, and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be ſearched; and in the houſe of Cellier, the whole ſcheme of the conſpiracy was diſcovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, from whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confeſſion of the forgery, which, though probably his own, he aſcribed to the earl of Caſtlemain, the counteſs of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He ſaid that the deſign was to ſuborn witneſſes to prove a charge of ſodomy and perjury upon Oates, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Shafteſbury, to accuſe the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Eſſex, Hallifax and others, of having been concerned in the conſpiracy againſt the king and his brother. Upon this information, the earl of Caſtlemain and the counteſs of Powis were ſent to the Tower, and the king himſelf was ſuſpected of encouraging this impoſture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverſe parties endeavoured to ſupplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addreſſes on the other, were ſent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions filled with grievances, were ſent to the king with an air of humble

humble inſolence. Wherever the church, or the court party prevailed, addreſſes were framed, containing expreſſions of the higheſt regard to his majeſty, and the deepeſt *abhorrence* of thoſe who endeavoured to diſturb the public tranquility. Thus the nation came to be diſtinguiſhed into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*. Whig and Tory alſo were firſt uſed as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs were ſo denominated from a cant name given to the four Scotch conventiclers, (Whig being milk turned ſour.) The Tories were denominated from the Iriſh banditti ſo called, whoſe uſual manner of bidding people deliver, was by the Iriſh word Toree, or give me.

As this parliament ſeemed to ſurpaſs the former in jealouſy, the king was induced to diſſolve it. But his neceſſities, cauſed by his want of œconomy, obliged him to call another. || However every change ſeemed only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament ſeemed willing to out-do even their predeceſſors. Every ſtep they took, betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the Abhorrers, who, in their addreſſes to the crown, had expreſſed their diſapprobation of thoſe petitions. Great numbers of theſe were ſeized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to cloſe cuſtody: the liberty of the ſubject, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stowel of Exeter was the perſon that put a ſtop to their proceedings; he refuſed to obey the

|| A. D. 1680.

the ſergeant at arms, who was ſent to apprehend him; he ſtood upon his defence, and ſaid he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The houſe, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evaſion. They inſerted in their votes, that Stowel was indiſpoſed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that ſhould the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciouſly to be committed to priſon; there is no power, in caſe of reſiſtance, that can compel the priſoner to ſubmit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the *Excluſion Bill*, which, though the former houſe had voted it, was never paſſed into a law. Shafteſbury, and many of the party, had rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find ſafety in no meaſure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the excluſion of James would make room for their own patron. The duke of York's profeſſed bigotry to the catholic ſuperſtition influenced numbers; and his cruelties, which were practiſed without controul, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thouſands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the ſeſſions, a motion was made for bringing in an excluſion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpoſe. The debates were carried on with great violence on both ſides; the bill was defended by lord Ruſſel, who had now

reſigned his office of attorney general, by Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Harry Capel, Sir William Pultney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden aud Montague. It paſſed by a great majority in the houſe of commons, but was oppoſed in the houſe of peers. The king was preſent during the whole debate; and the bill was thrown out by a very great majority.

The commons were enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and to ſhew how ſtrongly they reſented the indulgence which was ſhewn to popery, they paſſed a bill for eaſing the proteſtant diſſenters, and for repealing ſuch acts as tended to their perſecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which, though contributing to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, yet tended alſo to excite them to inſurrection. * They voted, that till the excluſion bill was paſſed, they could not grant the king any ſupply; and to prevent his taking other methods, they voted that whoever ſhould hereafter lend, by way of advance, any money upon any branches of the king's revenue, ſhould be reſponſible to parliament for his conduct. The king, finding that there were no hopes of extorting money from the commons, came to a reſolution of once more diſſolving the parliament. His uſher of the black-rod accordingly came to diſſolve them, while they were voting that the diſſenters ſhould be encouraged.

It was a doubt, whether the king would ever call another: however, the deſire he had of being ſupplied with money, ſurmounted his

* A. D. 1681.

his fears. But it was ſuppoſed that the neighbourhood of London, was an improper place for aſſembling a parliament that would be ſtedfaſt in the king's intereſts. He therefore reſolved at once to puniſh the Londoners, and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to aſſemble at Oxford, and meaſures taken on both ſides to engage the partizans to be ſtrenous in their reſolutions. In this, as in all former parliaments, the country party predominated: the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven theſe words, "No Popery! No Slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; ſo that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congreſs, than of a civil aſſembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the ſteps of the former. * The commons having choſen the ſame ſpeaker, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the ſubject of their deliberations. Each party reviled each other in pamphlets and libels; which at laſt, was attended with an incident, that deſerves notice. One Fitzharris a dependent on the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, the king's miſtreſs, uſed to ſupply her with theſe occaſional publications. But he was reſolved to add to their number; and employed one Everhard, a Scotchman,

* March 24.

to write a libel againſt the king and the duke of York. The Scot was a ſpy for the oppoſite party; and ſuppoſing this a trick to entrap him, diſcovered the whole to Sir William Waller, an eminent juſtice of peace; and poſted him, and two other perſons, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himſelf. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himſelf in the hands of a party, from which he expected no mercy, he reſolved to ſide with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he ſaid, were willing to draw up a libel, which ſhould be imputed to the excluſioners. He enhanced his ſervices with the country party, by a new popiſh plot, more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver of the murder of Sir Edmondſbury Godfrey.

The king impriſoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cauſe. They voted that he ſhould be impeached by themſelves, to ſcreen him from the ordinary forms of juſtice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons aſſerted their right; a commotion was likely to enſue; and the king, to break off the conteſt, went to the houſe and diſſolved the parliament, with a fixed reſolution never to call another.

This was a blow that the parliament had never expected. From that moment Charles ruled

ruled with deſpotic power; and his temper, which before ſeemed eaſy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained many ſpies and informers, and impriſoned all ſuch as he thought deſigned to oppoſe him.

He reſolved to humble the preſbyterians; theſe were diveſted of their employments and places; and their offices given to ſuch as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-reſiſtance. The clergy began to teſtify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their ſermons; but though among theſe, the partizans of the king were the moſt numerous, thoſe of the oppoſite faction were the moſt zealous. The king openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the former; and thus placing himſelf at the head of a faction, deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party of their charter. It was not till after an abject ſubmiſſion that he reſtored it to them, having previouſly ſubjected the election of their magiſtrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors alſo were not wanting to confirm this new ſpecies of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial, condemned, and executed. The whole gang of ſpies, witneſſes, informers, ſuborners, which had long been encouraged by the leading patriots, finding that the king was now entirely maſter, turned ſhort upon their ancient drivers, and offered their evidence againſt thoſe who had firſt put them in motion. The king's miniſters, with an horrid ſatisfaction, gave them countenance.

and encouragement; ſo that ſoon the ſame cruelties and the ſame injuſtice, were practiſed againſt them, that had been employed againſt catholic treaſons.

The firſt perſon that fell under their diſpleaſure, was one Stephen College, a London joiner, commonly called the Proteſtant Joiner. He had attended the city members to Oxford, armed with ſword and piſtol; he had ſometimes been heard to ſpeak irreverently of the king, and was now preſented for it by the grand jury of London. The ſheriffs of London were oppoſite to the court; and the grand jury, named by them, rejected the bill. However, the court were not to be foiled ſo; they ſent the priſoner to Oxford, where the treaſon was ſaid to have been committed, and there tried him before a partial judge, and a packed jury. He was accuſed by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had already given evidence againſt the catholics; and the nation ſaw themſelves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their teſtimony. The jury, who were royaliſts, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars, nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think them ſufficient evidence. College defended himſelf with great preſence of mind, and invalidated all their teſtimonies. But all was in vain. * The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the ſpectators teſtified their inhuman pleaſure, with a ſhout of applauſe. He bore his fate with unſhaken fortitude; and at the place

* Aug. 17.

place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

§ But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whoſe reſentment was chiefly levelled againſt the earl of Shafteſbury. No ſums were ſpared to ſeek for evidence, and even to ſuborn witneſſes againſt this formidable man. A bill of indictment being preſented to the grand jury, witneſſes were examined, who ſwore to ſuch incredible circumſtances, as ought to have invalidated their teſtimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an aſſociation was found, which might have been conſtrued into treaſon; but it was not in the earl's hand writing, nor could his adverſaries prove that he had ever communicated this ſcheme to any body, or ſigned his approbation of any ſuch project. * But the ſheriffs ſummoned an honeſt jury, and that procured his ſafety.

‡ The power of the crown by this time became irreſiſtable, the city of London having been deprived of their charter, which was reſtored only upon terms of ſubmiſſion. And the giving up the nomination of their own magiſtrates, was ſo mortifying a circumſtance, that all the other corporations in England ſoon began to fear the ſame treatment, and were ſucceſſively induced to ſurrender their charters into the hands of the king. Conſiderable ſums were exacted for reſtoring theſe charters; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the diſpoſal of the crown. Reſiſtance now, was not ſafe: and all prudent men

§ A. D. 1682. * Nov. 24. ‡ A. D. 1683.

men ſaw no other expedient, but peaceably ſubmitting to the preſent grievances. But there was a party in England that ſtill cheriſhed the love of freedom, and were reſolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, was made up of men, ſome guided by principle, ſome by intereſt, and many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs at Windſor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shafteſbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, and with the duke of Monmouth, lord Ruſſel, and lord Grey, in caſe of the king's death, conſpired to riſe in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the ſword. Shafteſbury's impriſonment for ſome time put a ſtop to theſe deſigns; but they revived with his releaſe. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and other gentlemen in Cheſhire. Lord Ruſſel fixed a correſpondence with Sir William Courtney, Sir Francis Rowles, and Sir Francis Drake, who promiſed to raiſe the Weſt. Shafteſbury, with one Ferguſon, an independent clergyman, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his ſchemes likely to take effect. But this, like all the former, was diſappointed. The caution of lord Ruſſel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprize, ſaved the kingdom from the horrors of a civil war; while Shafteſbury was ſo ſtruck with a ſenſe of his impending danger

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that he left his houſe, and lurking about the city attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open inſurrection. At laſt, enraged at the numberleſs cautions and delays which clogged his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long ſtruggle between fear and rage, he fled out of the kingdom to Amſterdam, where he ended his turbulent life ſoon after, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loſs of Shafteſbury, though it retarded the views of the conſpirators, did not ſuppreſs them. A council of ſix was erected, conſiſting of Monmouth, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Howard, Algernoon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandſon to the great man of that name. Theſe correſponded with the malecontents in Scotland, and reſolved to proſecute the ſcheme of the inſurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aſpired at the crown; Ruſſel and Hambden propoſed to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, and redreſs the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for reſtoring the public, and Eſſex joined in the ſame wiſh. Lord Howard having no principles, ſought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private intereſt in the confuſion.

Such were the leaders of this conſpiracy. But there was alſo a ſet of ſubordinate conſpirators, who carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among theſe men was colonel Rumſey, an old republican officer, together with lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the ſame ſtamp, Goodenough, under-

under-ſheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man, Ferguſon, the independent miniſter, and ſeveral attornies, merchants, and tradeſmen of London. But Rumſey and Ferguſon were the only perſons that had acceſs to the great leaders of the conſpiracy. They propoſed to aſſaſſinate the king in his way to Newmarket; Rumbald, one of the party, poſſeſſed a farm upon that road called the Rye-houſe, and from hence the conſpiracy was denominated the Rye-houſe Plot. They purpoſed ſtopping the king's coach by overturning a cart on the high-way, and ſhooting him through the hedges. But the houſe in which the king lived at Newmarket taking fire accidentally, he left Newmarket eight days ſooner than was expected.

Among the conſpirators was one Keiling, who being in danger of a proſecution for arreſting the lord-mayor of London, reſolved to earn his pardon by diſcovering this plot to the miniſtry. Colonel Rumſey, and Weſt, a lawyer, no ſooner underſtood that this man had informed againſt them, than they agreed to ſave their lives by turning king's evidence, and ſurrendered themſelves accordingly. Sheppard, another conſpirator, being apprehended, confeſſed all he knew, and orders were ſoon iſſued out for apprehending the reſt of the leaders. Monmouth abſconded; Ruſſel was ſent to the Tower; Grey eſcaped; Howard was taken concealed in a chimney; Eſſex, Sidney, and Hambden, were ſoon after arreſted, and found lord Howard an evidence againſt them.

Walcot

* Walcot was firſt brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouſe, two aſſociates in the conſpiracy, upon the evidence of Rumſey, Weſt, and Sheppard. They died acknowledging the juſtice of the ſentence. A much greater ſacrifice was ſhortly after to follow. This was the lord Ruſſel, ſon of the earl of Bedford, a nobleman of numberleſs good qualities, and led into this conſpiracy from a conviction of the duke of York's intentions to reſtore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were ſo many crimes in the preſent diſpoſition of the court. The chief evidence againſt him was lord Howard. This witneſs ſwore that Ruſſel was engaged in the deſign of an inſurrection; but he acquitted him, as did alſo Rumſey and Weſt, of being privy to the aſſaſſination. His candour would not allow him to deny the deſign in which he really was concerned; but his own confeſſion was not ſufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life, there was but one witneſs, and the law required two. This was over-ruled; for juſtice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing party. The jury, who were zealous royaliſts, after a ſhort deliberation brought the priſoner in guilty. After his condemnation the king was ſtrongly ſolicited in his favour. Even money to the amount of two hundred thouſand pounds, was offered to the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, by the old earl of Bedford, lord Ruſſel's father. The king was inexorable. He dreaded the

* July 12.

the popularity of this nobleman, and reſented his activity in promoting the bill of excluſion. Lord Cavendiſh, the intimate friend of Ruſſel, offered to effect his eſcape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a priſoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth ſent a meſſage to him, offering to ſurrender himſelf, if he thought that ſtep would contribute to his ſafety. Lord Ruſſel generouſly rejected both theſe expedients, and reſigned himſelf to his fate with admirable fortitude. His conſort, the daughter and heireſs of the earl of Southampton, finding that all ſupplications were vain, took leave of her huſband without ſhedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to thoſe about him, "Now, ſaid he, the bitterneſs of death is "paſt." * A little before the ſheriffs conducted him to the ſcaffold, he wound up his watch. "I have now done with time, "ſaid he, and muſt henceforth think of eter-"nity." The ſcaffold for his execution was erected in Lincolns-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the leaſt change of countenance, and at two ſtrokes it was ſevered from his body.

The celebrated Algernoon Sidney, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army againſt the late king, and was even named on the high court of juſtice, but would not act. He had ever oppoſed Cromwell's uſurpation, and went into voluntary baniſhment upon the reſtoration. His affairs, however, requiring his

* July 23.

his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained it. But all his hopes and all his reaſonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into baniſhment. It may be eaſily conceived how obnoxious a man of ſuch principles was to ſuch a court. They went ſo far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witneſs that depoſed againſt Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a ſecond witneſs, they had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient. In ranſacking his cloſet, ſome diſcourſes on goverment were found, containing principles favourable to liberty, but no way ſubverſive of a limited government. By over-ſtraining ſome of theſe they were conſtrued into treaſon. It was in vain he alledged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themſelves contained nothing criminal. His defence was over-ruled; the inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-juſtice, eaſily prevailed on a partial jury to bring him in guilty, * and his execution followed ſoon after. One can ſcarce contemplate the tranſactions of this reign without horror. Such a picture of guilt on each ſide; a court at once immerſed in ſenſuality and blood, a people armed againſt each other with the moſt deadly animoſity, and no ſingle party to be found with ſenſe enough to ſtem the general torrent of rancour and ſuſpicion.

* Nov. 21.

* Hambden was tried ſoon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thouſand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Briſtol, who had fled to the Weſt-Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armſtrong alſo, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and ſhared the ſame fate. Lord Eſſex, who had been impriſoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of ſuicide, or whether ſome aſſaſſin committed the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the laſt blood that was ſhed for plots or conſpiracies, which continued during the greateſt part of this reign. Nevertheleſs, the cruelty, and the gloomy ſuſpicion of the duke of York, who ſince the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, daily came into greater power, was dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined an hundred thouſand pounds, for calling him a popiſh traitor, and he was impriſoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal ſentence was paſſed upon Dutton Colt for the ſame offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiſton was fined ten thouſand pounds, for having, in ſome private letters, reflected on the government. Of all thoſe who were concerned in the late conſpiracy, ſcarce one eſcaped the ſeverity of the court, except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the moſt culpable of any.

At this period, the government of Charles was as abſolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but to pleaſe his ſubjects by an act of popularity,

* A. D. 1684.

popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. This was the laſt tranſaction of this extraordinary reign. The king was ſeized with a ſudden fit, which reſembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languiſhed two days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. Two papers were found in his cloſet, containing arguments in favour of popery. Theſe were ſoon after publiſhed by James his ſucceſſor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity, and his brother's memory. Probably he was himſelf the contriver of thoſe papers as well as of the ſilly tale concerning father Huddleſtone's giving him extreme unction. Lady Oglethorpe averred upon her honour to my eldeſt brother, that ſhe never left him from the moment he drank that cup, on which he loſt his ſpeech and pointed to his ſtomach, till the breath went out of his body; and during that time, neither Huddleſtone, nor any Romiſh Prieſt, ever entered the room.

The moſt diſcerning of his phyſicians, Dr. Short, did not only believe him poiſoned, but thought himſelf ſo too, not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.

Juſt at the time when the king drank that wine after which he pointed to his ſtomach, but ſpoke no more, Mr. Peden being engaged in prayer (in the weſt of Scotland) broke out "Aha! the royal bird has received a ſhot

under the left wing! He has received a potion from a brother's hand." What ſtreſs can be laid on this, I cannot tell.

He was in every reſpect a conſummate hypocrite, equally void of piety, mercy, honeſty and gratitude. Under a cover of gentleneſs, he was cruel and revengeful to an high degree. He was abandoned to all vices. A worſe man never ſat on the Engliſh throne, and few worſe princes.

CHAP. IX.

JAMES II.

*THE duke of York, who ſucceded his brother, by the title of king James the ſecond, had been bred a papiſt, and was ſtrongly bigotted to his principles. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and his education rendered them ſtill more feeble. He therefore conceived the project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predeceſſor, and of changing the eſtabliſhed religion, at a time when his perſon was hated, and the eſtabliſhed religion paſſionately loved. The

* A. D. 1685.

The people, though they deſpiſed the adminiſtration of his predeceſſor, yet loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one, whoſe behaviour was affable; but they were by no means willing to grant the ſame indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, and cruel.

His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the cuſtoms, and the greater part of the exciſe, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without a new act for that purpoſe. He likewiſe went openly to maſs with all the enſigns of his dignity; and even ſent one Caryl as his agent to Rome to make ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admiſſion of England into the boſom of the catholic church. Theſe were but inauſpicious ſymptoms in the very beginning of his reign.

He had, long before the commencement of his reign, had an intrigue with one Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created counteſs of Dorcheſter; but being now told that as he was to convert his people, the ſanctity of his manners ought to correſpond with his profeſſions; Mrs. Sedley was diſcarded, and he reſigned himſelf up to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by prieſts as he. From the ſuggeſtions of theſe men, and particularly the Jeſuits, all meaſures were taken. One day, when the Spaniſh ambaſſador ventured to adviſe his majeſty againſt placing too much confidence in ſuch kind of people, "Is it not the cuſtom in Spain, ſaid James, "for the king to conſult with his confeſſor?"

"Yes, answered the ambassador, and that is "the reason our affairs succeed so ill."

But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament was inclined to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king. For this favour James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion.

To pave the way for the conversion of the kingdom, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments; convicted; and sentenced to pay a thousand marks on each; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn: to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court, to put him to death by that dreadful punishment, yet he survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension settled upon him.

Monmouth, who had been pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from thence by the prince of Orange upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate,

retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. The duke of Argyle ſeconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the ſcheme of a double inſurrection; ſo that while Monmouth ſhould attempt to make a riſing in the Weſt, Argyle was to try his endeavours in the North.

* Argyle was the firſt who landed in Scotland, where he publiſhed his manifeſtoes, and put himſelf at the head of two thouſand five hundred men. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming againſt him, his army fell away, and he himſelf, after being wounded in attempting to eſcape, was taken priſoner by a peaſant, ſtanding up to his neck in a pool of water. He was from thence carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant ſpirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who was by this time landed in Dorſetſhire, with ſcarce an hundred followers. However, ſo great was the hatred of the people both for the perſon and religion of James, that in four days he had a body of above two thouſand men. They were indeed the loweſt of the people, and his declarations were ſuited to their prejudices. He called the king, the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popiſh uſurper.

The parliament was no ſooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they preſented an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of their loyalty. The duke of Albemarle, raiſing a body

* May 20.

body of four thouſand militia, advanced, in order to block him up in Lyme; but finding his ſoldiers diſaffected to the king, he ſoon after retreated with precipitation.

* In the mean time the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by conſiderable numbers. There he aſſumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great ſolemnity. His numbers had now increaſed to ſix thouſand men; and he was obliged every day for want of arms, to diſmiſs numbers. He entered Bridgewater, Wells and Frome, and was proclaimed in all thoſe places; but he loſt the hour of action, in receiving theſe empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed. Six regiments of Britiſh troops were called over from Holland, and a body of regulars to the number of three thouſand men, were ſent, under the command of the earl of Feverſham and Churchill, againſt the rebels. They took poſt at Sedgemore, in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in conſiderable numbers. It was there that Monmouth reſolved, by a deſperate effort to loſe his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent diſpoſition made by Feverſham invited him to the attack; and his followers ſhewed what courage and principle could do againſt diſcipline and ſuperior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the cowardice of lord Gray, who commanded the horſe, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the

* June 18.

the firſt onſet; and the rebels being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way after three hours conteſt. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thouſand in the purſuit; and thus ended an enterprize, raſhly begun, and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horſe ſunk under him. He then alighted, and exchanging cloaths with a ſhepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhauſted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themſelves with fern. The ſhepherd being found in Monmouth's cloaths by the purſuers, increaſed the diligence of the ſearch; and, by the means of blood-hounds, he was detected in his miſerable ſituation, with raw peaſe in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to ſuſtain life. He burſt into tears when ſeized by his enemies. He wrote the moſt ſubmiſſive letters to the king; and that monarch, willing to feaſt his eyes with the miſeries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life. He even ſigned a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the ſtern tyrant aſſured him, that his crime was of ſuch a nature, as could not be pardoned. The duke perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his ſpirits, roſe up, and retired with an air of diſdain. || He was followed to the ſcaffold

|| July 15.

ſcaffold, with great compaſſion from the populace. He warned the executioner not to fall into the ſame error which he had committed in beheading Ruſſel, where it had been neceſſary to redouble the blow. But the man was ſeized with an univerſal trepidation; he ſtruck a feeble blow, upon which the duke raiſed his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a ſecond time, and the executioner ſtruck him again and again to no purpoſe. He at laſt threw the ax down; but the ſheriff compelled him to reſume it, and at two blows more the head was ſevered from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the Engliſh people. He was brave, ſincere, and good natured, but open to flattery, and by that ſeduced into an enterprize, which ended in his ruin.

The victorious army behaved with the moſt ſavage cruelty. Feverſham immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty priſoners; and was proceeding in his executions, when the biſhop of Bath and Wells warned him that theſe unhappy men were now by law entitled to trial, and that their execution would be deemed murther. Nineteen were put to death in the ſame manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirk, a man of a ſavage and bloody diſpoſition. This vile fellow, practiſed in the arts of ſlaughter at Tangier, where he ſerved in garriſon, took a pleaſure in committing inſtances of wanton barbarity. He ordered a certain number to be put to death, while he and his company were

were drinking the king's health. Obſerving their feet to ſhake in the agonies of death, he cried that they ſhould have muſic to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to ſound. He ravaged the whole country, without making any diſtinction between friend or foe. His own regiment, for their peculiar barbarity, went by the name of Kirk's Lambs. A ſtory is told of his offering a young woman the life of her brother, in caſe ſhe conſented to his deſires, which, when ſhe had done, he ſhewed her her brother hanging out of the window.

But the military ſeverities of the commanders were ſtill inferior to the legal ſlaughters, committed by judge Jefferies, who was ſent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the priſoners, that if they would ſave him the trouble of trying them, they might expect ſome favour, otherwiſe he would execute the law with the utmoſt ſeverity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confeſſion; but it only haſtened their deſtruction. No leſs than eighty were executed at Dorcheſter; and, at Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, two hundred and fifty-one. Women were not exempted from the general ſeverity, but ſuffered for harbouring their neareſt kindred. Lady Liſle, though the widow of a regicide, was herſelf a loyaliſt. She was apprehended in extreme old age, for having ſheltered in her houſe two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemore. She proved that ſhe was ignorant of their

their crime when ſhe had given them protection, and the jury twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often ſent back by Jefferies, with menaces, and at laſt conſtrained to give a verdict againſt the priſoner.

The fate of Mrs. Gaunt was ſtill more terrible. Mrs. Gaunt was noted for her beneficence, which ſhe had extended to perſons of all profeſſions and perſuaſions. One of the rebels knowing her humane character, had recourſe to her in his diſtreſs, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain hearing that a reward was offered to ſuch as informed againſt criminals, came in and betrayed his protectreſs. He was pardoned for his treachery, and ſhe burned alive for her benevolence.

The work of ſlaughter went forward. One Mr. Corniſh, late ſheriff of London, who had been long obnoxious to the court, was accuſed by Goodenough, now turned a common informer, ‖ and in the ſpace of a week was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death, the perjury of the witneſſes appeared ſo flagrant, that the king himſelf expreſſed ſome regret, granted his eſtate to the family, and condemned the witneſſes to perpetual impriſonment. Jefferies, on his return was created a peer, and ſoon after veſted with the dignity of chancellor. This ſhewed the people that all the former cruelties were pleaſing to the king.

James now began to throw off the maſk; and in the houſe of commons, ſeemed to think himſelf

‡ Oct. 23.

himſelf exempted from all rules of prudence. ‖ He told the houſe, that the militia were found by experience to be of no uſe; that it was neceſſary to augment the ſtanding army; and that he had employed a great many catholic officers, in whoſe favour he had thought proper to diſpenſe with the teſt, required to be taken by all intruſted by the crown: he found them uſeful, he ſaid, and he was determined to keep them employed. Theſe ſtretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into ſome degree of oppoſition; but they ſoon acquieſced in the king's meaſures, and then the parliament was diſſolved. This was happy for the nation, for it was impoſſible to pick out another houſe of commons, that could be more compliant with the meaſures of the crown.

* The parliament being diſmiſſed, the next ſtep was to ſecure a catholic intereſt in the privy council. Accordingly four catholic lords were admitted; Powis, Arundel, Bellaſis, and Dover. The king made no ſecret of his deſires to have his courtiers of his own religion; Sunderland, who ſaw that the way to preferment was by popery, ſcrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rocheſter, the treaſurer was turned out of his office, becauſe he refuſed to conform. In theſe ſchemes, James was entirely governed by the queen and his confeſſor, father Peters, a Jeſuit, whom he ſoon after created a privy-councellor. Even in Ireland, where the duke of Ormond had long ſupported the royal cauſe, this nobleman was diſplaced, as being a proteſtant; and

‖ Nov. 9. * A. D. 1686.

the lord Tyrconnel, a furious Roman catholic, was placed in his ſtead. The king one day, in his attempts to convert his ſubjects, ſtooped ſo low as colonel Kirk; but the ruffian told him that he was pre-engaged, for he had promiſed the king of Morocco, when at Tangiers, that if ever he changed his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour ſhewn by James to the catholics, would be tamely borne by all. The clergy began to take the alarm: the pulpits thundered againſt popery. It was in vain that James attempted to impoſe ſilence on theſe topics; inſtead of avoiding the controverſy, the proteſtant preachers purſued it with ſtill greater warmth.

Among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, was doctor Sharp, rector of St. Giles, London. This gave great offence at court; and poſitive orders were given to the biſhop of London to ſuſpend him. The biſhop refuſed to comply; and the king reſolved to puniſh the biſhop himſelf for diſobedience.

To effect his deſigns, he determined to revive the high commiſſion court. A commiſſion was iſſued out, by which ſeven were inveſted with a full and unlimited authority. This was a blow which alarmed the kingdom; for could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow. § Before this tribunal the biſhop was ſummoned, and not only he, but Sharp were ſuſpended.

The

§ Aug. 31.

The next ſtep was to allow univerſal liberty of conſcience. He therefore iſſued a declaration of general indulgence, and aſſerted that non-conformity to the eſtabliſhed religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the diſſenters. But they knew the king only meant to eſtabliſh his own religion, at the expence of theirs; and that both his own temper, and the genius of popery, had nothing of the true ſpirit of toleration in them.

Yet his meaſures were caution itſelf in England, compared with thoſe which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, || he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only. In Ireland, the proteſtants were totally expelled from all offices of truſt and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel who was veſted with full authority there, carried over as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a jail, and convicted of forgery. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to ſay from the bench, that all proteſtants were rogues; and that there was not one among forty thouſand, that was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain.

Theſe meaſures had diſguſted every part of the Britiſh empire; but to complete his work, James publicly ſent the earl of Caſtlemaine, ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was there ſo much contempt thrown upon an embaſſy. The court

|| A. D. 1687.

of Rome expected little ſucceſs from meaſures ſo blindly conducted. They were ſenſible that the king was openly ſtriking at thoſe laws and opinions, which it was his buſineſs to undermine in ſilence. The cardinals were even heard facetiouſly to declare, that the king ſhould be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the ſmall remains of popery that yet ſubſiſted in England. The pope, though he granted audiences to the ambaſſador, was always ſeized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's ſpeech, and obliged him to retire. At length he threatened to return. The pope adviſed him to travel in the cool of the morning, leſt the heat ſhould prejudice his health. The only proof of complaiſance which the king received from his holineſs, was his ſending a nuncio into England.

People indeed ſuppoſed that he could never be ſo raſh as, contrary to expreſs act of parliament, to admit of a communicatian with the pope. But what was their ſurprize, when they ſaw the nuncio make his public and ſolemn entry into Windſor; and becauſe the duke of Somerſet refuſed to attend the ceremony, he was diſmiſſed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber.

But this was but the beginning of his attempts. The Jeſuits ſoon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom; they exerciſed their worſhip in the moſt public manner; and four catholic biſhops, conſecrated in the king's chapel, were ſent through the kingdom to exerciſe their epiſcopal

epiſcopal functions, under the title of apoſtolic vicars. Their paſtoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and diſtributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders, and a great number of prieſts, and friars arrived in England. Every great office the crown had to beſtow, was gradually transferred from the proteſtants; Rocheſter and Clarendon, the king's brothers in law, though ever faithful to his intereſts, were, becauſe proteſtants, diſmiſſed from their employments. Nothing now remained, but to open the door of the church and univerſities to the intruſion of the catholics, and this effort was made ſoon after.

* Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the degree of maſter of arts. But the univerſity preſented a petition, beſeeching the king to recal his mandate. Their petition was diſregarded; the vice-chancellor himſelf was ſummoned to appear before the high-commiſſion court, and deprived of his office; yet the univerſity perſiſted, and father Francis was refuſed. The king thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretenſions, but he carried on his attempts upon the univerſity of Oxford with greater vigour.

The place of preſident of Magdalen college being vacant, the king ſent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character. The fellows of the college, made very ſubmiſſive applications

* Feb. 9.

to the king for recalling his mandate; but before they received an anſwer, the day came, on which by their ſtatutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore choſe doctor Hough, a man of learning, integrity and reſolution. The king was incenſed at their preſumption; and, in order to puniſh them, an eccleſiaſtical court was ſent down, who finding Farmer a man of ſcandalous character, iſſued a mandate for a new election. The perſon now recommended by the king, was doctor Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford, a man of proſtitute morals; but who atoned for all his vices, by his willingneſs to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refuſed to comply; which ſo incenſed the king, that he repaired in perſon to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their inſolence and diſobedience in the moſt imperious terms; and commanded them to chuſe Parker without delay: his words were, "I *will* be obeyed: otherwiſe you "ſhall feel the weight of a king's right-"hand." Finding them reſolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two, from their fellowſhips, and Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the place. Upon this, the college was filled with catholics; and Charnock, one of the two that remained, was made vice-preſident.

Every invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical and civil privileges of the nation only ſeemed to increaſe the king's ardour for more. A ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience was publiſhed

liſhed, * almoſt in the ſame terms with the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines ſhould read it after ſervice in their churches. He thus armed againſt himſelf the whole body of the nation. The clergy were determined to truſt God and follow their conſcience. The firſt champions on this ſervice of danger were Loyde, biſhop of St. Aſaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicheſter, White of Peterborow, and Trelawney of Briſtol; theſe, together with Sancroft their primate, concerted an addreſs, in the form of a petition, to the king, which, with the warmeſt expreſſions of zeal and ſubmiſſion, remonſtrated that they could not read his declaration conſiſtent with their conſciences. This modeſt addreſs ſtill more inflamed the king's reſentment, and hurried him on in counſels as precipitate as they were tyrannical. He ſaid, he did not expect ſuch an addreſs from the Engliſh church, particularly from ſome among them. The biſhops left his preſence under ſome apprehenſions; but ſecure in the rectitude of their intentions.

The king's meaſures were now become ſo odious to the people, that, although the biſhops of Durham and Rocheſter, who were members of the eccleſiaſtical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their reſpective diſtricts, the audience could not hear them with any patience. One miniſter told his congregation, that though he had poſitive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; an hint which the con-

* A. D. 1688.

congregation quickly obeyed. It was therefore ſuppoſed, that the petitioning biſhops had little to dread from the royal reſentment.

As the petition was delivered in private, the king ſummoned the biſhops before the council, and there queſtioned them whether they would acknowledge it? They for ſome time declined giving an anſwer; but at laſt owned the petition. On their refuſal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown-lawyers received directions to proſecute them for a ſeditious libel.

* The king gave orders that they ſhould be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. The people were no ſooner informed of it, than the river ſide was lined with incredible multitudes. As the reverend priſoners paſſed, the populace fell upon their knees; and great numbers ran into the water, craving their bleſſing, calling upon Heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to ſuffer in the cauſe of religion. The biſhops were not wanting, by their modeſt and humble behaviour, to raiſe the pity of the ſpectators; and they ſtill exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very ſoldiers, by whom they were guarded, kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveneſs. Upon landing, the biſhops immediately went to the Tower-chapel to render thanks for what they ſuffered in the cauſe of truth.

The

* June 8.

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial; and their return was more ſplendidly attended than their impriſonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immenſe crowd of people, waited upon them to Weſtminſter-hall. The cauſe was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation, and freedom or ſlavery awaited the deciſion. The diſpute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both ſides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themſelves in favour of the biſhops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they paſſed the whole night; but next morning they returned into court, and pronounced the biſhops, Not guilty. Weſtminſter-hall inſtantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounſlow, where the king was at dinner, in lord Feverſham's tent. His majeſty demanding the cauſe of thoſe rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the ſoldiers ſhouting at the delivery of the biſhops, "Call you that nothing?" cried he, "But "ſo much the worſe for them."

If the biſhops teſtified the readineſs of martyrs in ſupport of their religion, James ſhewed no leſs ardour in the eſtabliſhment of his own. Grown odious to every claſs of his ſubjects, he ſtill reſolved to perſiſt; for it was a part of his character, that thoſe meaſures he once embraced, he always perſevered in. He ſtruck out two of the judges, Powel and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the

the biſhops. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration; and all had refuſed it, except two hundred. He ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for preſident, in the room of Parker, lately deceaſed, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular biſhop of Madura.

As he found the clergy every where averſe to his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought, if one regiment would promiſe implicit obedience, their example would induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his preſence, and deſired that ſuch as were againſt his late declaration of liberty of conſcience ſhould lay down their arms. He was ſurprized to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few roman catholic ſoldiers.

Oppoſition only ſerved to inflame this infatuated monarch's zeal. He was continually ſtimulated by the queen, and the prieſts about him, to go forward. A fortunate circumſtance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the biſhops, the queen was brought to bed of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could, have ſerved to eſtabliſh him on the throne; but ſo great was the animoſity againſt him, that a ſtory was propagated that the child was ſuppoſititious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming pan. Biſhop Burnet, who ſeems to have been

been at uncommon pains to eſtabliſh this belief, and to have conſulted all the whig-nurſes in England upon the ſubject; firſt, pretends to demonſtrate that the queen was not with child; ſecondly, that ſhe was with child; but miſcarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's apartment in a warming-pan; fourthly, that there was no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died the ſame day; ſixthly, that the ſuppoſititious child had not the fits; ſeventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond: therefore the chevalier De St. George, muſt be the fruit of four different impoſtures. Yet ſo great was this monarch's pride, that he ſcorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his meaſures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakneſs. In theſe he was chiefly ſupported by Father Peters, his confeſſor, an ambitious, and ignorant prieſt, whom ſome ſcruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's ſecret directions, it is aſſerted that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Peters, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of government.

William, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldeſt daughter of king James. This princeſs had been bred a proteſtant; and as ſhe was for a long time heir apparent to the throne, the people tamely bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his proteſtant ſucceſſor would rectify all. But now, when

when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes of ſucceſſion, he lent more attention to the complaints of the nation; and began to foment thoſe diſcontents, which before he had endeavoured to ſuppreſs.

William was a prince who had, from his earlieſt entrance into buſineſs, been immerſed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealouſies of Holland, had ſerved to ſharpen his underſtanding, which was naturally good. His temper was cold and ſevere; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant, without oſtentation, and politic without addreſs. Through his whole life he was indefatigable; and though frequently an unſucceſsful general in the field, yet he was ſtill a formidable negociator in the cabinet. By his wiſdom he ſaved his own country from ruin; reſtored the liberties of England, and preſerved the independence of Europe.

This politic prince now plainly ſaw that James had incurred the moſt violent hatred of his ſubjects. He was minutely informed of their diſcontents; and, by ſeeming to diſcourage, ſtill increaſed them. He began by giving one Dykvelt, his envoy, inſtructions to apply in his name to every denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he ſent aſſurances of favour and regard; and proteſted that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him againſt epiſcopacy. To the non-conformiſts he ſent exhortations not to be deceived by the inſidious careſſes of their known enemy; but to wait for a real and

ſincere

ſincere protector. Dykevelt executed his commiſſion with ſuch dexterity, that all orders of men caſt their eyes towards Holland, and expected from thence a deliverance from thoſe dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince ſoon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Ruſſel, aſſured him in perſon of their own and the national attachment. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernoon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, came over to him with aſſurances of an univerſal combination againſt the king. Lord Dumblain, ſon to the earl of Danby, being maſter of a frigate, made ſeveral voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty and even conſiderable ſums of money to the prince. Soon after, the biſhop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonſhire, Dorſet, with ſeveral other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addreſſes to him, and intreated his ſpeedy deſcent.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their meaſures againſt the king. The Whigs hated, upon principles of liberty, the Tories, upon principles of religion. The former had ever ſhewn themſelves tenacious of their political rights; the latter of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; ſo that for a time all factions were laid aſleep, except that general one of driving out the tyrant. William, therefore, determined

to accept of the invitations of the kingdom, and the more readily, as he ſaw that the male-contents had conducted their meaſures with prudence and ſecrecy.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprize, was juſt when the people were in a flame from the inſult offered to their biſhops. He had before this made conſiderable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ſhips were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were alſo levied, and ſums of money raiſed for other purpoſes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always repoſed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was ſure of their protection of his native government, while he ſhould be employed in England; and the troops of ſome of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpoſe. Every place was in motion; all Europe ſaw and expected the deſcent, except the unfortunate James himſelf, who thought nothing could injure his ſchemes calculated to promote the cauſe of heaven.

The king of France was the firſt who apprized him of his danger, and offered to aſſiſt him in repelling it. He was willing to join a ſquadron of French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet, and to ſend over any number of troops which James ſhould judge requiſite. James, however, could not be convinced that his ſon-in-law intended an invaſion; fully ſatisfied himſelf of the ſacredneſs of his authority, he imagined

imagined, a like belief had poſſeſſed his ſubjects. He therefore rejected the French king's propoſal, ſaying, he had an army ſufficient at home. Lewis then offered to march his army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus detain their forces at home. This propoſal met with no better reception. Still Lewis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally. He ventured to remonſtrate to the Dutch againſt the preparations they were making to invade England. The Dutch accuſed his remonſtrance as an officious impertinence, and James himſelf declined his mediation.

James having thus rejected the aſſiſtance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was aſtoniſhed, with an advice from his miniſter in Holland, that an invaſion was not only projected but avowed. When he firſt read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropt from his hand. He ſaw the gulph into which he was fallen, and he knew not where to ſeek for protection. His only reſource was in retreating from thoſe precipitate meaſures into which he had plunged himſelf. He replaced in all the counties the deputy lieutenants and juſtices, who had been deprived of their commiſſions for their adherence to the laws. He reſtored the charters of ſuch corporations as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of; he annulled the high-commiſſion court; he re-inſtated the expelled preſident and fellows of Magdalen-college, and he even careſſed thoſe biſhops, whom he had ſo lately perſecuted.

But his conceſſions were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, not repentance: indeed he ſoon ſhewed the inſincerity of his reformation; for, hearing the Dutch fleet was diſperſed, he recalled thoſe conceſſions; and, to ſhew his attachment to the Romiſh church, at the baptiſm of his new-born ſon, he appointed the pope one of the ſponſors.

In the mean time the declaration of the prince of Orange was induſtriouſly diſperſed, over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained; he promiſed his aſſiſtance in redreſſing them; and aſſured the nation that his only aim was, to procure them the laſting ſettlement of their liberty and their religion.

So well concerted were his meaſures, that in three days, above four hundred tranſports were hired, the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all neceſſary ſtores; and the prince ſet ſail from Helvoetſluys, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of near fourteen thouſand men.

Providence, however, ſeemed at firſt unfavourable to his enterprize. He encountered a dreadful ſtorm, * which put him back; but he ſoon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured for England. It was given out that this invaſion was intended for the coaſts of France, and many of the Engliſh who ſaw the fleet paſs along their coaſts, little expected to ſee it land on their own ſhores. The ſame wind which ſent them to their deſtined port, detained the Engliſh fleet in the river, ſo

* Oct. 19.

ſo that the Dutch paſſed the ſtreights of Dover without moleſtation. Thus after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniverſary of the gun-powder treaſon.

But though the invitation from the Engliſh was very general, the prince for ſome time was joined by very few. He marched firſt to Exeter, where the country people had been ſo lately terrified with the executions which had enſued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malecontents, and at laſt began to deſpair of ſucceſs. But juſt when he began to deliberate about reimbarking his forces, he was joined by ſeveral perſons of conſequence. The firſt was major Burrington, and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerſet. Sir Edward Seymour made propoſals for an aſſociation, which every one ſigned. By degrees the earl of Abington, Mr. Ruſſel, ſon to the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, all came to Exeter. England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheſhire; the earl of Danby ſeized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonſhire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the ſame cauſe; and every day there appeared ſome effect of that univerſal combination into which the nation had entered againſt the meaſures of the king.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom was the diſaffection of the army, which ſeemed univerſally tinctured with the ſpirit of the times. Lord Colcheſter, ſon to the earl of Rivers, was the firſt officer who deſerted to the prince. Lord Cornbury, ſon to the earl of Clarendon, carried off the greateſt part of three regiments of cavalry. Several officers of diſtinction informed Feverſham the general, that they could not in conſcience fight againſt the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own ſervants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raiſed from the rank of a page, and inveſted with an high command in the army; had been created a a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deſerted among the reſt, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural ſon to the late king, colonel Berkely, and ſome others.

In this univerſal defection, the unfortunate James not knowing where to turn, began to think of requeſting aſſiſtance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for anſwer, that what he had foreſeen had happened. James had ſome dependence on his fleet; but they were entirely diſaffected. In a word, his intereſts were deſerted by all; for he had long deſerted them himſelf.

He was by this time arrived at Saliſbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty-thouſand men.

men. It is poſſible that had he led theſe to the combat immediately, they might have fought in his favour. But he was involved in a maze of fears and ſuſpicions; the defection of thoſe he moſt confided in, took away his confidence in all. It was no ſmall addition to his diſtreſs, that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, took part with the prevailing ſide. When he was told that the prince and princeſs had followed the reſt of his favourites, he was ſtung with the moſt bitter anguiſh. "God help "me, cried he; my own children have for-"ſaken me."

During this perplexity, he embraced a ſudden reſolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a meaſure which could only ſerve to betray his fears, and provoke farther treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, he aſſembled the few noblemen that ſtill adhered to him. There in his forlorn council, he demanded the advice of thoſe he moſt confided in. Addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Ruſſel, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord," ſaid the king, "you are an ho-"neſt man, and can do me ſignal ſervice." "Ah, Sir, replied the earl, I am old and "feeble; I can do you but little ſervice. "I had indeed a ſon!" James was ſo ſtruck with this reply, that he could not ſpeak for ſome minutes.

The king's fortune now expoſed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour could not procure him the eſteem of his

his friends. They perſuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer govern, and to ſeek for refuge at the court of France.

The prince of Orange was no leſs deſirous of the king's flying over to France. He was determined to uſe every expedient to intimidate the king and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined a perſonal conference with the king's commiſſioners, and ſent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he propoſed implied a preſent participation of the ſovereignty; and to urge his meaſures, he ſtopped not a moment in his march to London.

The king alarmed every day more and more, was reſolved to quit the kingdom. * To prepare for this, he firſt ſent away the queen, who arrived ſafely at Calais. He himſelf ſoon after diſappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and diſguiſing himſelf went down to Feverſham, where he embarked on board a ſmall veſſel for France. But the veſſel was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the king, robbed, inſulted, and abuſed him. He was now perſuaded by the earl of Winchelſea to return to London, where again the populace, moved by his diſtreſſes, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with ſhouts and acclamations.

Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back, and, in ſome meaſure, triumphantly, to his capital. The biſhops and peers

* Dec. 10.

peers, who were now the only authorized magiſtrates in the ſtate, gave directions for keeping the peace of the city. They iſſued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garriſons and the army. They made applications to the prince, whoſe enterprize they highly applauded, and whoſe ſucceſs they joyfully congratulated. It was not therefore without extreme mortification that he found the king returned to embarraſs his proceedings. He received the news of his return with an haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to puſh him to relinquiſh the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having ſent lord Feverſham on a meſſage to the prince, deſiring a conference previous to the ſettlement of the throne, that nobleman was put under an arreſt, on pretence of his wanting a paſſport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to diſplace the Engliſh. The king was ſoon after commanded by a meſſage, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a ſeat of the dutcheſs of Lauderdale's. He deſired permiſſion to retire to Rocheſter, a town not far from the ſea-coaſt. This was readily granted him. Hence he ſoon fled to the ſea-ſide, || attended by his natural ſon the duke of Berwick, where he embarked for the continent. He arrived in ſafety at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, from whence he haſtened to the court of France, where he ſtill enjoyed the empty title of a king,

|| Dec. 23.

king, and the appellation of a ſaint, which flattered him more.

After this manner, by a train of providences, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he ſhould reap the rewards of his toil; and obtain that crown for himſelf, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. The houſe of lords, the only member of the legiſlature remaining, deſired him to ſummon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon ſo imperfect an authority, convened all the members, who had ſat in the houſe of commons during any parliament of Charles the ſecond, and to theſe were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. They unanimouſly voted the ſame addreſs with the lords; and the prince then wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to chuſe a new parliament. His orders were univerſally complied with; every thing went on in the moſt regular, peaceful manner, and the prince became poſſeſſed of all authority, as if he had regularly ſucceeded to the throne.

* When the houſe met, after thanks were given to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought, they proceeded to the ſettlement of the kingdom. In a few days they paſſed a vote, by a great majority, which was ſent up to the houſe of lords for their concurrence. It was to this effect. "That king James the ſecond, having, by the advice of Jeſuits, and other wicked

* Jan. 22. A. D. 1689.

wicked perſons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. This vote readily paſſed the houſe of commons; but it met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only.

The next conſideration was the appointing a ſucceſſor. Some declared for a regent; others, that the princeſs of Orange ſhould be inveſted with regal power. The debates ran high. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons, while the prince with his uſual prudence, kept a total ſilence. At laſt, perceiving that his own name was little mentioned in theſe diſputes, he called together the lords Hallifax, Shrewſbury, and Danby, with a few more. He told them that he had been called over to defend the liberties of the Engliſh nation, and that he had happily effected his purpoſe; that he had heard of ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for the eſtabliſhing the government; that if they choſe a regent, he thought it incumbent on him to inform them, he would never accept of that office, the execution of which he knew would be attended with inſuperable difficulties; that he would not accept of the crown under the princeſs his wife, though he was convinced of her merits; that therefore if either of theſe ſchemes were adopted, he could give them no aſſiſtance in the ſettlement of the nation; but would return home to his own countty. This declaration produced

...ded effect. After a long de... houſes, a new ſovereign was pre... a regent, by a majority of two ... It was agreed that the prince and ...ceſs of Orange ſhould reign jointly, as ...ng and queen of England, while the adminiſtration of government ſhould be placed in the hands of the prince only. || The marquis of Hallifax, as ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, made a ſolemn tender of the crown to their highneſſes, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer; and that very day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

King James was for many years, a man of courage, as well as application to buſineſs. He was ſaid to be a ſincere and a juſt man, where his religion was not concerned. Yet even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and though he approved himſelf an obedient ſubject; he certainly became one of the moſt intolerable ſovereigns that ever reigned over a free people. But he could have no true religion, at leaſt while in England, as he made no conſcience at all of adultery. He is ſaid afterwards to have been a new man. Probably the loſs of his crown was the ſaving of his ſoul.

|| Feb. 13.

End of the Third Volume.